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## SOME ASSYRIAN ETYMOLOGIES

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§1.—The common Assyrian word for *body* is zumru. The cuneiform ideogram for zumru, Sumerian su, *body*,[1] is used also for mašku, *skin*. In Arabic, bášar, *skin*, means also *mankind*, just as Arabic ádam denotes both *skin* and *mankind*.[2] Heb. basár means *flesh* and *mankind;* it is used also as a euphemism for *pudenda*. The Hebrew word for *people*, gôi̯, is derived from the stem of gĕu̯îi̯âh, *body*. In the Talmud, gĕu̯îi̯âh, *body*, *person*, has also the special meaning *membrum virile;* so, too, gûf, *body*, *person*, and zĕmôrâh which corresponds to Assyr. zumru. Greek σῶμα and δέμας are used in the same way. *Cant.* 5, I rendered the couplet Cant. **7**, 3:

> A heap of wheat is thy person,
>     encompassed with (dark purple) lilies;
> Thy lap is a bowl that is covered,
>     wherein wine may ever be mingled.

Here *person* ( = Heb. bāṭn, *body*) is used for the hypogastric region (*mons Veneris*). Compare *Cant.* 29; BL 3. 36. 104.

The original meaning of Heb. zĕmôrâh is *yard*, *rod*, *branch*, *twig*. This is the connotation of the word in OT. Heb. zamár, *to prune*, is a privative denominative verb (JAOS **28**, 105, n. 3)[3]

which means originally *to remove twigs or branches*.   In Arabic, the intransitive verb zámira has the privative meaning *to be unmanly*.   Similarly the obscure Heb. i̯aḥs (יַחַשׂ) *pedigree*, is identical with Arab. u̯axš (وحش) *rabble*, originally *unpedigreed;* cf. Arab. حَجَانَة, hajânah, *nobility* and *ignobility;* German *Ross* and French *rosse* (see *Est.* 62).

The Piel zimmér, *to make music*, from which the term for *psalm*, Heb. mizmôr is derived, means originally *to pluck* (pick, pull, twitch) *the strings* of a musical instrument.   Zimráth ha'árç, in the story of Joseph, Gen. **43**, 11, which is translated in AV: *the best fruits of the land*, means *the pick of the land*.

Delitzsch in his *Assyr. Studien* (Leipzig, 1874) p. 122, combined Assyr. zumru, *body*, with Talmudic zĕmôrâh, *crepitus ventris*.   The most charitable explanation of this strange etymology is that Delitzsch did not know the real connotation of the Latin *crepitus ventris;* moreover, Talmud. zĕmôrâh has not this meaning.   In the passage Ezek. **8**, 17, u̯ĕ-hinnám šôlĕḥîm ĕtĭ-haz-zĕmôrâh 'al-appám, the term zĕmôrâh corresponds to the Aram. zĕmôrâ, *bluish-gray* (Syr. zammârâ, which is used especially of bluish-gray eyes)[4] and denotes the nasal mucus.   The passage means, *They snort defiance and contempt*, lit. *they send out the snot through their noses*.   The Syriac Bible renders, u̯ĕ-hinnôn mafqĕ'în ba-nĕxîraihôn,[5] *they burst out, explode*, i. e. *snort with their nostrils*.   For the preposition 'al (so we must read instead of 'ĕl) *cf.* Pss. **15**, 3; **50**, 16; Exod. **23**, 13; Eccl. **5**, 1.   The *Codex Marchalianus* has in the margin: διὰ τῶν μυκτήρων.   The Vaticanus reads: καὶ ἰδοὺ αὐτοὶ ὡς μυκτηρίζοντες.   The verb μυκτηρίζω means *to turn up the nose, to sneer.*[6]   To *sneer* = to express contempt by a grimace marked by slight turning up of the nose.   To *snort* means not only *to force the air with violence through the nose*, but also *to turn up the nose.*

I have pointed out (BL 123, n. *) that Assyr. zumru, *body*, is identical with Arab. zúmrah, *body, corporation*.   In the same book (pp. 127–132) I have shown that the Heb. term kippér, *to atone*, means originally *to wipe off with the hand* (Heb. kaph) and that the Heb. qärth and qiri̯âh, *city*, which we have in

the name Carthage, also French cire, *wax*, and our chalk, as well as the name of the Spanish city of Cadiz, are ultimately Sumerian.[7]

In the beautiful description of the Springtide of Love, Cant. **2**, 12, zamîr, *singing*, is interpreted by some to mean *pruning;* but it cannot have this meaning in that passage; grape-vines are not pruned in the spring, but after the fruiting season, as is evident in the Parable of the Vine (John **15**, 2).

§2.—While zamîr, *pruning*, and zamîr, *singing*, are ultimately identical, we must assume two different stems for the Assyr. qablu which means both *midst* and *fight*. The original meaning of qabâlu, *to fight*, is *to face, to confront;* but Assyr. qablu, *midst*, is a transposition of Arab. qalb, *heart, midst*, and this is identical with Heb. qärb which appears in Assyrian as kirbu, spelled with *k*, not *q*, owing to the following *i*-vowel, just as kirêtu, banquet, from qarâ, *to invite*, is spelled with *k;* cf. the Assyr. loanword kerâh (2 K **6**, 23) and *Nah.* 35, l. 11; *Est.* 32, n. †.

Heb. qärb, *interior*, has no connection with the stem qâriba, *to approach;* it is simply a byform of qalbu=qablu, with *r* instead of *l*, just as we have gamár=gamál, and (in Syriac) gêrám; see *Est.* 55, n. *; 57, n. †; BL 23, n. *; 126, *ad* p. 79, l. 5.

Assyr. qarâbu, *war*, is a doublet of qablu, *front*. The original form of Arab. qalb, *heart, midst*, is qarb with *r;* it is derived from the root qar (AJSL **23**, 243, below). The special meaning of qarb is *thoracic cavity*, while karš denotes the *abdominal cavity* (JBL **19**, 76, n. 99).

§3.—Transposition and partial assimilation are much more frequent than is generally supposed. Assyr. zenû, *to be angry*, which Zimmern[8] was inclined to combine with Heb. zanâḥ, *to reject*, originally *to regard as offensive* (owing to a disgusting odor) is simply a transposition of Heb. za‘ám, from a root za‘ which we have also in za‘f, za‘q (with partial assimilation: ça‘áq). For the connection of the two meanings *to be angry* and *to shout* compare Assyr. çarâxu and nagâgu. In Assyr. zenû the ‘Ain is transposed, and the *n* instead of *m* is due to the preceding dental sibilant. Similarly we have in Hebrew, zanâh,

to *have illicit intercourse*, instead of zamâh, Ethiopic zamáṇa;
contrast *Judges* 67, 42.

§ 4.—We find the same partial assimilation in the legend of
the sons of God and the daughters of men, prefixed to the Bibli-
cal accounts of the Deluge (Gen. **6**, 3). Here AV translates:
*The Lord said, My spirit shall not always strive with man;* but
the Ancient Versions render: *stay, remain* (καταμείνῃ, *permane-
bit*, Syr. tĕˀmár). Heb. i̯aḏôn in this passage evidently stands
for i̯aḏôm, an intransitive imperfect from the stem dûm, *to
last, remain, continue*, which is common in Arabic (dâma,
i̯adûmu or i̯adâmu; dâˀimaⁿ, *always, forever*). The same
partial assimilation appears in the Arabic dialect of Egypt, where
we find dân, idân instead of dâma, i̯adâmu. The original
form dôm (with *m*) is preserved in Josh. **10**, 12, where Joshua
says in the sight of Israel, *Sun, stand thou still over Gibeon!*
Of course, this meant originally simply: May the sun not set
before JHVH has granted us victory; *cf.* the translation of *Joshua*
in the Polychrome Bible (New York, 1899) p. 72, line 9.ᵍ Simi-
larly Sargon says in his cuneiform annals that he besieged and
conquered the Babylonian city of Dûr-Atḫara (710 B. C.) *before
the sun set* (adî lâ šalâm šamši). See H. Winckler, *Keil-
schrifttexte Sargons* (Leipzig, 1889) **1**, 43.

Joshua's lines,

Šémš bĕ-Gibˀôn dôm!        u̯ĕ-i̯aréḫ bĕ-ˁémq Ai̯i̯alôn!
U̯ai̯-i̯áḏom šémš[10] u̯ĕ-i̯aréḫ ˁad-iqqôm gôi̯ ˀoi̯ĕbâu̯

are quoted from the ancient *Book of Songs*, Heb. sefr haš-šîr;[11]
i̯ašár is an erroneous transposition of šîr (JHUC, No. 163,
p. 54ᵇ, below) and šîr is identical with Arabic šiˁr, *poetry;* see
*Est.* 74, *ad* **9**, 24. ˀAmáḏ after u̯ĕ-i̯aréḫ is a gloss based on
u̯ai̯-i̯aˁmoḏ introducing the subsequent explanation in v. 13ᵇ·[12]

AV adds to *Stand thou still* in the margin: Heb. *be silent.*
But there is no verb damám, *to be silent;* nor does damám
ever mean *to silence, to annihilate*, although dámma means
in Arabic *to exterminate* (= ṭáḫana u̯a-ˀáhlaka). Heb. damám
corresponds to the Assyr. damâmu, *to moan, to mutter;* and the
forms of damám which are supposed to mean *to be silent* must

be derived from dûm, *to stay;* cf. *Nah.* 44 (9ᵃ). Dôm lě-Iahụêh (Ps. **37**, 7) does not mean *Be silent to the Lord* or *Submit quietly to Jahveh,* but *Stay* (rest in patience or expectation) or *Wait for Jahveh!* For iddĕmû ka-'ábn (Ex. **15**, 16) we must read ịadômû ka-'ábn, *they became rigid as a stone,* petrified with astonishment; so, too, in the story of Nadab and Abihu (Lev. **10**, 3). This stem dûm, *to stay,*[13] occurs in several passages of OT; the stem damám, *to whisper, to speak with a low, rustling voice,* is less frequent. We have it *e. g.* in Ez. **24**, 17: he'-anéq dôm, *moan softly,* not *sigh in silence.* In Assyrian we find the phrase kîma çûçî adámum, *I rustle like a marsh,* i. e. *I moan softly as a canebrake rustles.* When Jhvh appeared to Elijah, he heard *a still, small voice* (qôl dĕmamâh daqqâh, 1 K **19**, 12) i. e. *the sound of a soft whisper.* Dĕmamâh ụĕ-qôl 'ešmáʿ, *I hear a whisper and a voice* (Job **4**, 16) means *I hear a still voice.* Ịaqém sĕʿarâh liḍmamâh (Ps. **107**, 29) does not mean *He makes the storm a calm,* but *He hushes the storm to a whisper.*

The obscure line in Ps. **4**, 5, *Stand in awe and sin not, commune with your own heart upon your bed, and be still,* must be translated: *Rage, but be ye no traitors! Oppose and mutter in private!* This warning is addressed to the aristocratic Jewish apostates who appealed to the Syrian king for help when Judas Maccabæus besieged the Syrian citadel at Jerusalem in 163 b. c. (1 Macc. **6**, 21). This Psalm must be translated:

> 1    ᵃ When environed,[14] Thou didst enlarge me;
>       [15] have mercy, and hearken my prayer!
> 6    ᵝ They[16] say, Who can give us success?[17]
>       ᵞ Thy countenance lift Thou to us![18] ᵟ
>
> 7    Thou hast put great joy in my heart,[19]
>       surpassing harvest and vintage;[20]
> 8    In peace ᵋ I lie down and I slumber,
>       Thou ᵋ makest me dwell ᵑ undisturbedly.[21]

(α)   1   When I call, answer me,    O God who rightest me![22]
(β)   6   many            (γ) the light of         (δ) Jhvh
(ε)   8   both[23]          (ζ) Jhvh           (η) alone

2    How long will ye [θ]love what is vain,[24]
    and seek what is false,[25] ye lords?[26] [ι]
4    Rage, but be ye no traitors![27]
    oppose and mutter [κ]in private![28] [λ]

(θ)  2  (will ye turn) my glory into shame[29]
(ι)  3  Know ye that JHVH     showed me wonderful favor;[30]
      JHVH will hear,     when I call upon Him.
(κ)  4  in your heart
(λ)  5  Bring the right sacrifices,[31] trust ye in JHVH![32]

The noun demmát means in Ethiopic: *cat*, originally *wild-cat*. The domestic cat was not known to the Arabs before the time of Mohammed.[33]  The verb damám seems to have meant originally *to cry as a cat, mew, mewl, miau;* then *to moan,* especially *to moan softly, to whisper, to mutter* (German *mauzen*). Ethiopic tadammáma, *to be stupefied,* on the other hand, means originally *to be petrified with astonishment;* cf. the passage cited above, iddĕmû ka-'ábn, Ex. **15**. 16.  This Ethiopic reflexive-passive stem would correspond to a Heb. hithdômém.

§ 5.—Another Assyrian word for *crying, moaning,* which has never been explained, is qubbû.  The simple stem qebû is the common word for *to speak, to call, to order, to promise.*  It has been combined with the Talmudic qabá', *to fix, to determine,* but it is identical with the Heb. verb qabá' which we find in two passages of OT, *viz.* Prov. **22**, 23 and Mal. **3**, 8. 9.  Here we must not substitute 'aqáb for qabá'.  The verb qabá' has the privative sense of the German *absprechen, aberkennen,* Lat. *abjudicare.*  Prov. **22**, 22 must be translated:

Rob not the poor, though he is poor!
    nor oppress the needy in court!
For JHVH will plead their cause,
    and deprive their deprivers' life!

Shakespeare says, *'Tis honor to deprive dishonor'd life.*

The difference between gazál and qabá' is that gazál means to *deprive unlawfully,* while qabá' means *to deprive by judicial sentence.*  In the same way we must render in Mal. **3**, 8: *Can man divest God* (of His rights)? *i. e.* Can God be lawfully deprived by man of anything He claims?  We have the same root (AJSL **23**, 252) in the verb qabáb, *to curse,* originally *to*

*decry, clamor against, call down calamity.* Similarly Assyr. ragâmu, from which the terms targûm and dragoman are derived, means originally *to cry;* then, as a legal term, *to claim,* and finally in Ethiopic (and Arabic): *to curse.*[34] Our *spell =* *charm* meant originally simply *speech,* and the primary meaning of *charm,* Lat. *carmen,* is *song.* In German, *beschreien* means *to bring on an evil spell,* and *besprechen* is equivalent to *charming, enchanting, conjuring.*

In Arabic, qába'a is used of the cry of an elephant, but this means originally *to trumpet;* the noun qub' means *trumpet,* originally *hollow metallic instrument.* In Hebrew we have qubbá't (with the gloss kôs) *goblet* in Is. **31**, 17. 22 and qôbá' or kôbá' (with *k* instead of *q*) *helmet.* The original meaning is *to be hollow,* then *to be resonant, to resound, sound, speak.* The root (AJSL **23**, 252) qab, *to be hollow,* appears in the name of the measure of capacity, qab, also in qebâh *stomach,* and qubbâh, *vault,* Arab. al-qúbbah, from which the word *alcove* is derived. Arab. qába'a means also *to grunt like a hog* and *to sigh deeply* (syn. tanáhhada,[35] nâḥa).

§ 6.—According to Delitzsch, Assyr. nîmêdu means *room, chamber;* a kussû nîmêdi is said to be a *parlor chair,* not a *camp stool.* I showed more than twenty years ago (BA **1**, 6- *cf.* 165. 176. 326) that nîmêdu is a form mif'âl of 'amád, *to stand.* The *a*-vowel is preserved in the feminine form nîmâttu (for mi'mâdtu) which does not mean *chamber* or *dwelling,* but a utensil often mentioned in connection with a throne, or chair, or bed. Both nîmêdu and nîmâttu mean *footstool* or *bed-steps.* The Assyrian chairs and couches were so high that they had to be provided with footstools or bed-steps.

In the Talmud, bed-steps in front of a high bed are called dargáš,[47] a word which is used by modern Jews for the *treadle* of a sewing machine. This word must be restored in Amos **3**, 12 instead of u-bidmésq. We must read:

> As a shepherd barely rescues
> the shins or an earlap,
> So will the dwellers be rescued
> with the steps of a couch!

Ka-'šér i̯aççîl ha-ro'êh    kĕra'ái̯m o-bdal-'ózn
Kén innaçlû hai̯-i̯ošḇîm bĕ-dárgaš 'árs.

Of all their treasures the inhabitants of Samaria will not be able
to save more than the steps of their luxurious dining couches on
which they have been reclining at their sumptuous feasts. The pre-
ceding bif'áth miṭṭâh is an explanatory gloss to bĕ-dárgaš 'érs.

In Nebuchadnezzar's statement that he did not desire a
nîmêdu of his majesty in another city, nîmêdu has the same
meaning as Heb. hadôm,[36] *footstool*, in Ps. **99**, 5; Lam. **2**, 1, where
the Temple of JHVH in Jerusalem is called *His footstool*. The
name of the wall of Babylon, Nîmêtti Bêl, must be explained
in the same way. In the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. **5**, 35; *cf.*
Is. **66**, 1; Acts **7**, 49) heaven is called *God's throne*, and the
earth *His footstool*.

An Egyptian couch with bed-steps in front of it is figured in
Riehm's dictionary of the Bible, edited by Bæthgen (Biele-
feld, 1893) **1**, 225 and in the first edition of Benzinger's *Hebr.
Archäologie*, p. 123. Assyrian couches and chairs with foot-
stools may be seen in Mürdter-Delitzsch's *Geschichte Baby-
loniens und Assyriens* (Calw, 1891) pp. 139 and 207; *cf.* BL
67, 12. Footstools are often mentioned in the Odyssey, *e. g.* **1**,
131; **10**, 315. 367; **17**, 409. 462. 504; **19**, 57; θρῆνυς means
also *rower's seat, rowing-bench, thwart*.

§ 7.—Assyr. pelû, which is synonymous with salâtu, has
never been explained. In HW both words are left untranslated.
Salâtu is the stem of Heb. sólth, *flour*, and means *to grind*,
and pelû is evidently the Heb. pälḥ (פלח) *millstone*.

§ 8.—In my *Prolegomena to a Comparative Assyrian Gram-
mar* (JAOS **13**, ccliii, below; *cf.* AJSL **20**, 171) I have shown
that Assyr. tulû, *breast*, is connected with tilu, *hill*, and that
the synonym çîrtu is the feminine of çîru, *high*. One of my
students recently suggested that Assyr. šadû, *mountain*, might
be connected with Heb. šad, *breast*. Assyr. šadû, *mountain*,
constr. šad, is supposed to be identical with Heb. sadêh, *field*.
If this be correct, we should have a secondary differentiation as
in sêh, *sheep*, and šai̯, *present*, which may have been originally
identical; see OLZ **12**, 214, n. 15.

§ 9.—The Heb. terms paḫḫôth u-sĕganîm, *governors and deputies* (Ez. **23**, 12. 23 &c) are Assyrian loanwords. Päḫḫâh (for paḫḫâh; see *Est.* 35) is the Assyr. paxâtu, *governor* (for bêl-paxâti). Heb. sĕganîm is plur. of sägn (סֶגֶן not סָגֵן!) =Assyr. šaknu (HW 659ᵇ). The *g* instead of *k* is due to the following *n;* cf. Heb. Sargôn=Šarru-kênu (for Heb. *ê*= Assyr. *ô* see *Est.* 7) and nadânu for natânu, *to give* (see *Kings* 112, 18; 117, 32) as well as Syr. šĕládda=Babyl. ša-landu=šalamtu, fem. of šalmu, *corpse* (see *Nah.* 26). In Syr. izgaddûtha, *embassy, mission* (ZA **7**, 174) the s is assimi-lated to the following *g;* cf. zĕmân, *time*=Assyr. simânu, from u̯ásama (JHUC, No. 163, p. 89ᵃ; *Pur.* 32, 23; *Nah.* 31, below). For ζωγάνης see *Pur.* 26, 6.

The s in Heb. sĕganîm instead of the cuneiform š shows that this word is borrowed from the Assyrian, not from the Babylonian: š became s in Assyrian, and s became š (THCO 234, n. 3). This fact, which was recognized by Hincks as early as 1857, is denied by nearly all Assyriologists of the pres-ent generation (see *e. g.* AG 126). But GA xvii rightly says that š was pronounced s in Assyrian, and s, on the other hand, š. The original form of the name of the Moon-god is Šin, not Sin (*Kings* 270, 24). Mount Sinai denotes a mountain covered with senna shrubs (Heb. sĕnê, Arab. sanâ'). See OLZ **10**, 70; **12**, 165 (for Aram. ĕštaqád=Assyr. šattaqda, *last year, formerly,* discussed on the same page, see AJSL **22**, 251). *Cf.* also my paper *Midian und Sinai* in ZDMG **63**, Part 3.

Šaknu is generally derived from šakânu, *to appoint;* but the usual meaning of šakânu is *to make:* šaknu means *agent.* This is also the meaning of Arab. ʿâmil. An agent is a person acting on behalf of his principal, a representative or deputy. We speak not only of *commercial agents*, but also of *diplomatic agents*, &c. An officer who performs the duties of a colonel during the tem-porary absence of the commander of the regiment is called an *acting colonel.* Arab. ʿámal, *work*, is used especially of the man-agement of the public revenues, and Heb. mĕlakhâh, *work*, has the same meaning; see *Est.* 34. Arab. ʿâmil means not only *governor*, but also *collector of taxes*, &c.

§10.—In the illustrative quotation (BL 26, n. *) Is. **59**, 5. 6, which is according to Cheyne (*Isaiah* 158, 18) a later insertion from some favorite book of moral teaching, or possibly from some very late psalm, we read:

> Lo, vipers' eggs do they hatch,
>> and spiders' webs do they weave.
> He who eats of those[37] eggs must die,
>> and if crushed, they break out into adders.
> Their webs serve not for raiment,
>> nor can men be clad therein:[38]
> Their works are works of mischief,
>> and violence is in their hands.

In the Masoretic Text the word for *web* is qûr; but the Targum has qiuuîn, *threads, filaments* (qiuuîn dĕ-ʿakkobîta) for qûrîm; the ר in קורים is merely due to dittography of the ו; the consonants י, ו, ר, ד are often confused, haplographed, and dittographed; *cf.* OLZ **12**, 168, end of n. 7; TOCR **1**, 302, n. 1; AAJ 6, l. 5.

This confusion of י, ו, ר, ד, is much more frequent than is generally supposed: ירקב (Prov. **10**, 7) is miswritten for יוקב; for יורא (Prov. **11**, 25) we must read ירוה (see *Proverbs* 43, 30; 45, 5). In Hos. **12**, 12 LXX (ἄρχοντες) read שׂרים for שׂורים,[39] and this is a corruption of שֵׁדים, *demons*. In 1 S **20**, 30 we find נעות המרדות instead of נערה מֹרדת.[40] In פתור = cuneiform Pitru (IN 377, n. 3) the ו is due to dittography of the ר. Similarly the ו in מדוידם is a dittogram of the ד; we must read in 2 S **10**, 4; 1 Chr. **19**, 4: middêhém. Gen. **36**, 2 ההוי is miswritten for ההרי (IN 331, n. 2). The names ספרים and ספרד are both corruptions of סְפוֹרים, afterwards צְפוֹרין (OLZ **11**, 238; TOCR **1**, 302; AAJ 5).

The obscure מזור (Ob. 8) is miswritten for מזוד, *store, supply of food, provisions*, originally *a place where provisions are kept for future use;* cf. ἄγγος (*Odyss.* **2**, 289) and ἀγγεῖον (1 Macc. **6**, 53).[41] In Arabic we find mizûad, *bag of provisions*, misspelled in the *Aruch* מזור, as it is in Obad. 8 and Job **37**, 9 (see below). The Talmudic mizûadâh has the same meaning. This word is connected with Aram. zĕuâda, *pro-*

*visions for a journey, haversack*, which is identical with the Biblical çêḏâh, fem. of çaiḏ, *provisions for a journey, supply of food* (Assyr. çîdîtu).[42] The original meaning of the word is *game*. Pliny (**6**, 161) says that according to Aelius Gallus *nomadas lacte et ferina carne vesci*.[43] The *z* instead of *ç* is due to partial assimilation as it is also in Syr. zaddîq = Heb. çaddîq, *righteous, orthodox*. The name of the unorthodox Sadduceans (Syr. Zâḏûqâie) appears in Arabic as zindîq = ziddîq ; see JAOS **28**, 116;[44] *cf.* also zĕʿêr (Is. **28**, 10. 13; Job **36**, 2) = çaʿîr, *small*.

In Ob. 8 we must read:

Iaššîmu mizuâḏ taḥtékha     'ên tĕbû'ah bô
They destroy thy underground caches,
no store is (left) therein.

For iaššîmu (*cf.* GK, §107, e) instead of iasîmu see *Nah.* 3. 36, *ad* v. 13; contrast MVAG **3**, 238, l. 8. In taḥtékha we have not the preposition, but the pausal form of a noun with the meaning *underground chamber* which we find also in Jer. **38**, 11. For the position of the suffix *cf.* GK, §136, n.[72] The misreading tĕbûnâh instead of tĕbû'âh is responsible for the illustrative quotation (see the beginning of §10) in the following verse referring to the wisdom of the ancient Edomites (OLZ **12**, 163). In the Talmud, tĕbû'âh, *produce*, means especially *grain* (not in Levy). Grain was stored in a cache or in a dry well with clay walls (Jer. **41**, 8; 2 S **17**, 19).[45]

Apart from the two couplets in vv. 5 and 7, which may have been written about B. C. 580, the Book of Obadiah was composed in B. C. 164 (see TOCR **1**, 269, n. 2).

Also in Ps. **144**, 13 and Job **37**, 9 we must read mizuaḏênu, *our store-houses*, and mim-mizuâḏîm, *from the great store-house;* for the intensive plural see *Nah.* 30, below; AJSL **23**, 233, n. 40.

The shorter form יתר (Ex. **4**, 18[a]) for יתרו is due to haplography of רו. Jethro is probably an Egyptian name: rô may be the Heb. form of the Egyptian Rêʿ. For the vanishing of the ʿAin (roʿ would have meant *evil* in Hebrew) *cf.* môrâh, *razor*,

for ma'râh; Eštĕmôh (Josh. **15**, 50) = Eštĕmô˙ (Josh. **21**, 14), &c; see JHUC, No. 163, p. 88; also the remarks on Heb. šîr = Arab. ši'r, above, §4. For the ô in Hebrew instead of ê cf. the remarks on Sargôn = Šarru-kêru, above, §9. In the original tradition Moses' wife was the daughter-in-law of a priest of Heliopolis; she is therefore contemptuously called (Num. **12**, 1) a *negress* (AAJ 9, n. *). Afterwards this tradition was transferred to Joseph (Gen. **41**, 50). The Israelites were not in Egypt, but the Edomite ancestors of the Jews were in Egypt about 1230 B. C. (OLZ **12**, 163. 212). Jewish monotheism is derived from Heliopolis.[46]

The reading קוּרֵי עכּבּישׁ, *filaments of a spider*, instead of the ἅπαξ λεγόμενον קוּרֵי (Is. **59**, 5. 6) is confirmed, not only by the Targumic rendering qiṳṳîn dĕ-'akkobîta,[47] but also by the Assyr. qê, *filaments*, which we find in No. 56 of Geo. Reisner's *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen nach Thontafeln griechischer Zeit* (Berlin, 1896) p. 108, l. 42:

ina taxâzi qê ašâtî        ina pilákki aṭámî

During battle threads I weave,
with the spindle I spin.

My attention was called by Professor Zimmern to his explanation of this passage, given in Miss Hussey's dissertation (AJSL **23**, 147, l. 42; *cf.* p. 150, below). For qû (Heb. qaṳ), *thread, cord;* pilakku (Heb. pälkh) *spindle;* ṭamû (Heb. ṭauâh; ZA **2**, 274) see HW 581[b]. 527[b]. 302[a], and for šatû (*cf.* Heb. šĕtî, *warp*) = *to weave* (HW 695[b]: šatû, *some kind of cloth*) see Dr. Behrens' dissertation (cited *Pur.* 31, 14; *cf.* OLZ **12**, 67, n. 5) p. 121, n. 2. I had not seen Miss Hussey's dissertation when I wrote the explanation of the difficult phrase šatâ qê ittûti (KB **2**, 116, 7; HW 582[a])[48] published in ZDMG **61**, 294, l. 33. We must undoubtedly render, with Zimmern, *They were webbed* (covered) *with cobwebs*, lit. *filaments of spiders*.

Ittûtu (HW 161[a]) is a collective abstract noun like amelûtu, *mankind;* abûtu, *fathers*. The stem is Arab. ḫatâ (حَتَا, حَتَى) or ḫáta'a[49] = fátala, *to twist, weave, sew together, to fasten, intertwine*, &c. Ittûtu[50] is derived from ittu = ḫit'u = ḫiṭṳu

or ḥitiu. We find ittu ša çubâti,[31] *fringe of a garment*
(HW 154[b]). Both ittu and itû (HW 156[b]) mean also *border—
boundary*. Ittu represents a form fi'l, and itû a form fí'ăl or
fi'âl. *Border* may mean also *territory, domain;* this is the
meaning of utu'ûtu (for ḥutuuûtu) Tig. **4**, 34 (HW 155[a]).
Itâti, *neighborhood* (HW 154[b]) stands for ḥitauâti, whereas
idâti, *sides* (HW 304[a]) is the plural of ittu = idtu, fem. of idu,
*hand* = iadu (*Proverbs* 51, 3). For the development of the
meaning in utu'ûtu *cf.* Heb. ḥābl, *cord, rope, snare, loop,
noose; measuring-line* or *lot* (see *Pur.* 18, 10) and *region, dis-
trict, coast-line, sea-shore* (see *Proverbs* 57, 30). Also Assyr.
qiçru means originally *tying* (cords, slip-knots, snares, &c) and
then *property, possession.* Qiçir šadî, however, does not mean
*property of the mountain* (HW 592[a]) but *rocks* or *flagstones
firmly knit* or *bound together* so as to form one compact whole.
Ittû, *asphalt* (HW 161[a]) means *uniter,* i. e. *bituminous cement*
(BL 129). For the intervocalic ' = u or i in utu'ûtu *cf.* iti'âtu
(HW 157[a]) = ḥitiiâtu.

From the same stem we must derive itâni which we find in
the passage iv R 26, 25[a] (cited HW 158[b]): šêtu šuparrurtu
(or saparu) ša ina tâmdi[m] tarçu, ša ina itâniša nûnu ul
uççû,[52] *the spread net from whose meshes no fish escapes.*
Itâni is not a noun with the termination -ân, meaning *enmesh-
ment,* but plural of itû = ḥitaiu, *mesh;* cf. above the remarks on
Heb. ḥābl. In amelu šû ina niše qâ ešâ ana šêti tarçu
(iv R² 6, 16) qû ešû does not mean a *destructive snare,* but an
*entangling snare.* Ešîtu, *confusion, disorder,*[53] means originally
*entanglement.*

Assyr. šêtu, *net,* which is recorded in HW 636[b] as a derivative
of שׁאת, must be derived from šatû, *to weave;* cf. zeru, *seed* =
zâru, zarru, zar'u (BAL 90). There is no connection between
šêtu, *net* (originally *woven in meshes*) and Heb. šaḥt, in which
the final *t* is the feminine ending; contrast Delitzsch, *Prolego-
mena* (Leipzig, 1886) p. 119. The synonym of šêtu, *net,*
saparu (HW 509) is a Sumerian loanword, a compound of sa,
*mesh,*[54] and par (or bar) *spread out.* Syr. âpharsâna, *plot,
scheme* (originally *web, tissue*) is not derived from the Persian,

but is a transposition of Assyr. saparu, *net* = Sumer. sa-bar.
Sum. sa = Assyr. riksu,[55] markasu, pitnu,[56] and bar = Assyr.
šuparruru and nabalṭû; see HW 621. 622. 533.   The stem of
nabalṭû (for nabašṭû) is Arab. básaṭa (انبسط).   In Syriac
we have with partial assimilation (*Pur.* 27, 15) pĕšáṭ, *to stretch
out, to spread out.*

§11.—Heb. kauuanîm, *cakes* (LXX: χαυῶνες, also χαυβῶνες,
χαβῶνες, χαμῶνες, κανῶνες, in the two post-Jeremianic passages
Jer. **7**, 18; **44**, 19) has been compared by Jensen (*cf.* KAT 441,
n. 3) with Assyr. kamânu and derived from the stem kamû =
Heb. kauâh, *to burn* (ZA **2**, 281).   This untenable etymology was
suggested more than 150 years ago by Joh. Simonis, but rightly
rejected by Gesenius who stated in his *Thesaurus*, p. 669[b]:
(kauâh) *urendi, adurendi, not coquendi significatum habet.*
There is a difference between a *baked cake* and a *burnt cake.*
Even *toast* (Jensen: *Röstbrot*) is but superficially browned by
the fire, not burnt.   Nor can kauuân, *cake*, be, with Kimchi
and Gesenius, derived from Aram. kauuén, *to prepare* (*cf.*
AJSL **23**, 226, n. 13).

Assyr. kamânu does not mean *toast;* it denotes *something
broad and flat* in form, especially a *thin, flat cake.*   It is derived
from the stem kaham, so that kâmânu = kâhmânu.[57]   Arab.
káhama (كهمته الشدائد اذا جبّنته عن الاقدام) *to discour-
age,* means originally *to flat, to depress.*   We use *flat* in the
sense of *prostrate, laid low;* the phrase *to fall flat* means *to fail
completely.*   The fourth form of káhama is used of *failing eye-
sight* (اكهم بصره اذا كلّ ورق).   Heb. kahâh, which has the
same meaning, corresponds to Arabic káhiia, *to be discouraged;*
in Ethiopic, transposed, hakáia).   For káhiia = káhima *cf.*
qáhiia = qáhima (AJSL **23**, 228, end of n. 13).   Arab.
káhha means *to be decrepit* (syn. hárima).   The original
meaning of *decrepit* is *sunk to a lower level* (JAOS **28**, 106).

The form fuʿl of káhama appears in Assyrian as kûmu (for
kuhmu)[58] which is generally translated *place, building, residence,*
but it corresponds to the Greek πλάξ and denotes a *flat surface,
level ground,* then *platform, terrace, area, site, place.*[59]   The

preposition kûm (also kêm = kahm) means originally *in the place of.*

In German, *Platz* means not only *place*, but also *thin cake*. The derivation of *place* from πλατεῖα seems to me doubtful; πλατεῖα means *street*, not *place*. In Polish, *plack* is used for *flat cake*. Greek πλακοῦς, which is derived from the same root as πλάξ, denotes a *flat cake*. Lat. *placenta*, which is now used especially of the *uterine cake* or *afterbirth*, has the same meaning. For the connection of πλάξ and πλακοῦς with πλήσσω, *to beat* (Lat. *plango*) cf. *batter* = flour and water made into paste; and for the meaning of Lat. *placere* cf. Heb. šauâh, *to be suitable* (*Est.* **3**, 8). We use *level* in the sense of *adapt* and *suit.* Shakespeare (*Othello*, i, 3, 239) says: *such accommodation and besort as levels with her breeding.* Germ. *Plätzchen*, the diminutive of *Platz*, denotes a *small flat cake*, either round or star-like in form, *i. e.* a kauuân. Also Germ. *Fladen* which is connected with πλατύς, *flat, level, wide*, means *flat cake* ( = Eng. *flawn*).

The Vulgate uses *placentae* for kauuanîm and the Peshîta: zauterê, *i. e. cakes made of fine flour, oil, and honey*, corresponding to the German *Honigkuchen, Lebkuchen, Pfefferkuchen,* &c. The Targûm renders kauuanîm by kardotîn which is generally supposed to be identical with χειριδωτός, *provided with sleeves;* but this may mean also *having ray-like projections* like points of a star.

In l. 226 of the Flood Tablet (p. 144 of my edition of the Babylonian *Nimrod Epic*)[60] kâmânu denotes the *thin flat cake* into which the dough for the bread to be baked for Nimrod by Xisuthrus' wife, has been rolled out (Assyr. múššukat).[61] Jensen translates this passage (KB **6**, 245, ll. 224–229): *Sein eines Brot ist angerührt, ein zweites ist . . . . t, ein drittes ist (ange)feucht(et), ein viertes ist weiss (geworden), sein Röstbrod, ein fünftes "wirft graues Haar ab," ein sechstes ist gekocht, ein siebentes—plötzlich rührte er ihn an und der Mensch schrak auf.* This remarkable rendering is on a par with the meaningless translations characterized in JAOS **22**, 9 (cf. *Est.* 70, n. *).[62]

The numerals ištât, šanûtu[m], &c mean *on the first day,*

*second day,* &c.  Šanûtu = šanûi̯atu, fem. of Ethiop. sanûi̯; the feminine of the ordinal number šânû (for šâni̯u) would be šânîtu (for šâni̯itu, šâni̯atu).  The Assyrian ordinal numbers have not the form faʿul (AG 171, No. 8).  Nor do ištât, šanûtu^m, &c mean *firstly, secondly,* &c (AG 214).

The verb in l. 224 is not iptéçî, *became white* (how can toast become white?) but ibtéçî, *she cut* or *broke up, divided;* cf. Heb. biççáʿ in the late psalm Is. **38**, 12; Arab. báḍaʿa (syn. qáṭaʿa).  The noun báḍʿah denotes a *piece of bread* or *meat.* We have the same verb in buççû (not puççû, HW 534ᵃ) ša qan tuppi.

The noun šîba, which is spelled šîpa in l. 239, does not mean *white hair* (Heb. sêḇ or sêḇâh) but *grease, lard* (OLZ **12**, 111).

The lines should be translated: *On the first day his* (Nimrod's)[60] *bread was made up,*[63] i. e. the flour was mixed with water, and this mixture was kneaded; *on the second, it was spread out* with a roller;[61] *on the third, it was remoistened; on the fourth, she* (Xisuthrus' wife) *divided his* (flat) *cake into a number of smaller cakes;*[64] *on the fifth, she put grease on; on the sixth, it was baked; on the seventh day, he* (Xisuthrus) *suddenly touched him so that the man* (Nimrod)[60] *was startled.*[65]

Nor does tedîqu šîpa â iddî-ma edêšu lîdiš (l. 262) mean *soll 'das Gewand nicht "graues Haar abwerfen," sondern neu(, neu) verbleiben,* but *the garment shall not take on grease* (dirt)[66] *but shall remain quite new.*  Arab. dusûmah means *greasiness* and *dirt;* Arab. dusm (plur. of ádsamu) denotes *soiled garments.*  We use *smear* not only for *fat, grease, ointment,* but also for *spot, blotch, stain.*  Greasy = smeared or soiled with grease.  In the same way *to daub* = to smear and to soil.

Assyr. šamnu denotes especially *sesame oil* (*Pur.* 30, 39) whereas šîpu = *grease,* i. e. *animal fat,* as tallow, suet, or lard. In Syriac, šûfi̯â da-ḥezîre means *lard.*  Šûfi̯â (from šafâ = šûf; cf. AJSL **23**, 252) denotes also *lubricating grease* (Germ. *Schmiere*).  Syr. šai̯i̯âfa = *caulker,* i. e. *one who smears* with pitch.  Syr. šĕi̯âfa, *eye-salve,* has passed into Arabic as šii̯âf; also the Arabic verb šâfa (i̯ašûfu) *to polish* (or *to smear with*

*pitch*) is an Aramaic loanword. The genuine Arabic form is sâfa (i̯asîfu) or sá'afa (sá'ifa) which has the privative meaning (JAOS **28**, 105, n. 3; BL 128) *to be rubbed off* or *abraded, fretted, galled, chafed, frayed* (syn. tašáqqaqa) or *excoriated, cracked, chapped, excorticated* (syn. taqáššara). This corresponds to Syr. šáu̯pâ (or šûfâ) *excoriation* (Germ. *Hautwolf* or *Afterfratt*).[67]

Arab. sâf, *layer of stones*, on the other hand, is a loanword corresponding to Syr. sĕḥâfa, *a course of stones or wood*, a continuous range of stones or bricks. The genuine Arabic form of this stem is šáḥafa which has the privative meaning *to excoriate, to flay;* in Yemen, šiḥâf means *milk*, lit. *what is skimmed*. Cf. Sumer. ni-nun, *fat skimmed off*, i. e. *cream* (ni = šamnu, and nun = qalâpu (BL 126, *ad* p. 79). This explanation was given more than 30 years ago in the German translation of Geo. Smith's *Chaldean Genesis* (Leipzig, 1876) p. 285, n. 1; contrast J. D. Prince's *Materials for a Sumerian Lexicon*, p. 262, below. In Assyrian we find šîpu or šîbu (HW 645[b]) *wooden lining* or *boarding;* cf. שִׂדְ (Ezek. **41**, 16) *covered* (or *wainscoted*) and Syr. sâḥúftâ, *covering*. Syr. sĕḥâf, *to overthrow*, on the other hand, corresponds to the Assyr. saxâpu, and has an original ס and a ח .

§ 12.—In conclusion, I should like to add a word on the etymology of the cuneiform name of the planet Saturn. The Masoretic vocalization kîi̯ûn in Amos **5**, 26 suggests the substitution of šiqqûç, *idol, abomination* (cf. JAOS **28**, 118, below). The cuneiform name of the planet Saturn is spelled Ka-a-a-ma-nu which was originally (ZA **2**, 267, 1; 280, 3; 282, 1) pronounced ka'âmânu (for qai̯i̯âmânu, with *k* for *q*, as in kirbu = Heb. qärv; see above, § 2). This may afterwards have passed (with a change of â to ê and m to u̯)[68] into kâmânu, kêu̯ân. Assyr. ka'âmânu means *permanent, lasting, enduring, remaining* (HW 321). The stem is qûm; *cf.* Arab. qai̯i̯âm and (the Aramaic loanword) qai̯i̯ûm.[69] I believe, the planet Saturn was called ka'âmânu, kêu̯ân, *remaining* or *fixed*, because it remains about 2½ years in the same sign of the zodiac. In l. 178 of the second Šurpu-tablet (JBL **19**, 62, n. 8) Sakkût and Kâ'â-

mânu are mentioned together (EB 749) just as we find Sikkûth and Kîụûn (both with the vowels of the Qĕrê šiqqûç; see above) in Amos **5**, 26.

The passage Amos **5**, 21–27 is a post-Exilic gloss to Am. **4**, 4. 5. It must be preceded by **4**, 5, and followed by **6**, 8 and **5**, 4. 5. With the exception of the first two verses the entire fifth chapter of the Book of Amos consists of glosses, just as Am. **9**, 1 is the only original passage in the final chapter.[70]    Am. **5**, 23–27 must be translated:

> Did ye bring me offerings and gifts
>     the forty years in the wilderness?[71]
> Ye may carry now Saccuth, your King,
>     and Kewan, your gorgeous image![72]
> I'll send you away into exile![73]
>     thus says JHVH Sabaoth.

JHVH says, I want repentance and conversion, love toward God and man, not sacrifices and gifts.  What is the use of your coming to Beth-el and its sacred cromlech, your sacrifices, tithes, and freewill offerings, if you do not return to Me?  You observe religious ceremonies, but you have no real religion; you do not come up to My ethical standard; I sent you many a warning, but in vain!  Our relations were perfect, without sacrifices and gifts, during the forty years in the wilderness.[71]  In your nomadic stage you had no elaborate ritual, but your moral standard was higher.  But as ye will not return to Me, the only true God, I will send you away into exile: ye will be deported to Assyria![73] There you may worship the Assyrian idols, Saccuth and Kewan, and carry their images about in processions.  The gods of Babylonia and Assyria were carried about in processions at the great festivals,[74] especially at that of the New Year about the time of the vernal equinox;[75] see the full-page illustration facing p. 78 of the translation of *Isaiah* in the Polychrome Bible.

### Notes

(1) The oldest form of the ideogram for su may represent the *suprapubic region;* it means therefore also *increase;* see François Thureau-Dangin, *Recherches sur l'origine de l'écriture cunéiforme* (Paris, 1898) p. 32, No. 190; *cf.* also No. 327; contrast Delitzsch, *Die*

*Entstehung des ältesten Schriftsystems* (Leipzig, 1897) p. 138, and J. D. Prince, *Materials for a Sumerian Lexicon* (Leipzig, 1908) p. 214, below, and p. 296.

In the name of Sennacherib the ideogram su represents the imperative rîba, *requite, give a reward!* (ZDMG 62, 722). Heb. rîb has originally the same meaning; *cf.* 1 S 25, 39. The name Jerubbaal means *Baal rewards*. As a rule, Heb. rîb means *to try to obtain retaliation* or *redress*. Heb. râb (Is. 19, 20) vindicator, attorney, advocate, appears in Arabic as nâ'ib, proxy, deputy, lieutenant (with r for n ; cf. *Est.* 10, *ad* 1, 8).

(2) Contrast anâm (ZDMG 61, 194, l. 9).

(3) Note the following abbreviations: AAJ = Haupt, *The Aryan Ancestry of Jesus*, reprinted from *The Open Court* (Chicago, April, 1909). — AG = Delitzsch, *Assyrische Grammatik* (Berlin, 1906). — AJSL = *American Journal of Semitic Languages.* — ASKT = Haupt, *Akkadische und Sumerische Keilschrifttexte* (Leipzig, 1881). — AV = *Authorized Version.* — BA = Delitzsch and Haupt, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie.* — BAL = Haupt, *Beiträge zur assyrischen Lautlehre* = *Nachrichten von der Kgl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, April 25, 1883. — BL = Haupt, *Biblische Liebeslieder* (Leipzig, 1907). — EB = *Encyclopædia Biblica*, edited by Cheyne and Black. — GA = Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, Vol. I, Part 2, second edition (Stuttgart, 1909). — GK = Gesenius' *Hebr. Grammatik*, edited by Kautzsch. — HW = Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handwörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1896). — IN = Eduard Meyer, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme* (Halle, 1906). — JAOS = *Journal of the American Oriental Society.* — JBL = *Journal of Biblical Literature.* — JHUC = *Johns Hopkins University Circulars* (Baltimore). — KAT = Eb. Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, third edition, edited by Zimmern and Winckler (Berlin, 1903). — KAT² = second edition (Giessen, 1883). — KB = Eb. Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek.* — MDOG = *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft* (Berlin). — MVAG = *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft* (Berlin). — OT = *Old Testament.* — SBOT = Haupt, *The Sacred Books of the Old Testament.* — THCO (*i. e.* Transactions of the Hamburg Congress of Orientalists) = *Verhandlungen des xiii. Internationalen Orientalisten-Kongresses zu Hamburg*, 1902 (Leyden, 1904). — TOCR = *Transactions of the Third International Congress of the History of Religions* (Oxford, 1908). — ZA = *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.* — ZDMG = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*

1 K, 2 K = The first (second) Book of the Kings; 1 S, 2 S = The first (second) Book of Samuel. — R = Rawlinson.

The unabbreviated names of Biblical books, printed in *Italics* (e. g. *Genesis, Numbers, Kings, Judges, Isaiah, Proverbs*) refer to the critical

notes on the Heb. text in SBOT; the first number after the name of the
Book refers to the page in SBOT, the second indicates the line.  *Cf.*
AJSL **24**, 98.

*Cant.* = Haupt, *The Book of Canticles* (Chicago, 1902) reprinted
from AJSL **18**, 193–245; **19**, 1–32. — *Est.* = Haupt, *The Book of Esther*
(Chicago, 1908) reprinted from AJSL **24**, 97–186. — *Nah.* = Haupt, *The
Book of Nahum* (Baltimore, 1907) reprinted from JBL **26**, 1–53. —
*Pur.* = Haupt, *Purim* (Leipzig, 1906) = BA **6**, Part 2.

l. = line; — n. = note; — p. = page; — v. = verse; — cf. *Est.* 2–4.

(4)  *Cf.* BL 58, note 28.

(5)  *Cf.* AJSL **23**, 251.

(6)  Μυκτηρίζω is connected with *mucus*, μύξα.

(7)  Also French *escarpe, escarpin, crépir, crépi, décrépit, crépuscule,*
are ultimately derived from the Babylonian kipru, *asphalted revetment;*
French *cabane, cabine, cabinet, cabaret* go back to the Heb. ḥanûth,
*booth,* French *boutique;* see JAOS **28**, 106. 110.   For French *mesquin* =
Babyl. muškênu see AJSL **23**, 226, n. 13.

(8)  See Zimmern, *Babylonische Busspsalmen* (Leipzig, 1885) p. 25.
In his *Babylonische Hymnen und Gebete in Auswahl* (Leipzig, 1905)
Zimmern translates ASKT 115, 14: *Sein Gott und seine Göttin, ob des
(?) Zürnens rufen mit ihm dich an;* but this is impossible.   The line
means *Even his god and his goddess, who were angry with him, appeal
to thee.*   Nor does ša nasxurša ṭâbu mean *gütig sich Zuwendende,*
but *to whom it is good to turn.*   In the first line we must supply before
lapân appi the preposition ina, and at the end: takkarbî; this is
the last line of the quatrain; *cf.* Haupt, *Die akkadische Sprache*
(Berlin, 1883) pp. 25 and xxxv.

(9)  The explanation suggested in the *Expository Times* (March, 1909)
p. 279, that *be silent* = *do not shine* is impossible.   *Do not shine!*

(10)  The article before šemš should be omitted; it may have been
inserted after ṷai̯-i̯ádom had been mispointed ṷai̯-i̯iddôm, to avoid
the collision of two accented syllables.   See *Nah.* 18, *ad* v. 5.

(11)  For the pronunciation sefr, 'emq, šemš see *Nah.* 29, below.
The *e* in sefr should be pronounced as in *Kent;* the *e* in šemš (or
šäms) like the English *a* in *cant.*

(12)  For 'amád, *to stay, to wait,* see *Est.* 43, *ad* **5**, 1.   The words
after the couplet quoted from the Book of Songs, from hă-lô to lĕ-
Israél at the end of v. 14, represent two triplets with 2 + 2 beats; *cf.*
BL 101, l. 1.   Le-fanâu̯ u̯ĕ-'aḥrâu̯ is a gloss.

(13)  The place-name Dûmâh means *Stay, Sojourn.*   Hades is
called Dûmâh as the bêth-'ôlám (Eccl. **12**, 5).   The same phrase was
used in Egypt (GA 171. 182).   *Cf.* Arab. dâ'imî̯ah, *eternity.*

(14)  Whenever we were in distress, surrounded by enemies and beset
with dangers, Thou madest room for us, Thou gavest us relief.

(15) Supply *Therefore I pray now;* cf. Ps. **120**, 2 (AJSL **23**, 258, n. 1).

(16) The Jewish apostates, the Hellenizers, who sympathized with the Greeks (AJSL **19**, 139, n. 32).

(17) Against Antiochus Epiphanes and the Syrians. Lit. *who will make us see good?*

(18) Quoted from the Blessing of Aaron, Num. **6**, 24–26.

(19) We have triumphed over our oppressors, we celebrated the re-dedication of the Temple for eight days in Dec. 165, also the rescue of our brethren who were oppressed by the heathen in Gilead and Galilee; cf. 1 Macc. **4**, 56; **5**, 54, and AJSL **21**, 134; **23**, 225; AAJ 4.

(20) Lit. *more than at the time of grains and new wines* (pluralis intensivus; cf. below, n. 40).

(21) We have punished the Idumeans and the heathen of Gilead and Galilee; we have fortified Mount Zion and Bethsura on the Idumean frontier (1 Macc. **6**, 26). We are no longer afraid of our enemies; the Syrians have not troubled us for two years.

(22) Who givest us victory, thus showing that our cause is right and just; cf. AJSL **21**, 114, n. 17.

(23) We do not only lie down, but we also fall asleep.

(24) Hellenic culture.

(25) The gods of the Greeks.

(26) The Hellenizers belonged to the Jewish aristocracy; the lower classes were orthodox. For běnê-'îš cf. Ps. **49**, 3.

(27) You may be dissatisfied with the success of the Maccabees, but you must not commit high treason against the restored Maccabean Commonwealth. Some of the Jewish apostates went to Antioch and appealed to the Syrian King for help against their orthodox brethren; cf. 1 Macc. **6**, 21. For *traitor* see AJSL **19**, 140, n. 33.

(28) Lit. *in your sleeping-place.* If you object to our orthodox views, you may do so in the privacy of your bed-chamber; but if you give vent to your dissatisfaction in public, you will be punished. Contrast Eccl. **10**, 20:

> Not even in bed      curse thou the King,
> Nor in thy chamber   curse one in power!

This is a gloss which was added at the time of Herod the Great who employed a great many spies; see Haupt, *Ecclesiastes* (Baltimore, 1905) p. 40, n. 28.

(29) Quoted from the psalm in Macc. **1**, 39.

(30) Jhvh has repeatedly granted us victory against the large armies of the Syrians; cf. AJSL **21**, 151, n. 106; **23**, 230, n. 24.

(31) Do not sacrifice to the gods of the Greeks, but only to Jhvh; cf. *Pur.* 47, 29. 32.

(32) The Hebrew text must be restored as follows:

1    לַמְנַצֵּחַ בִּנְגִינוֹת מִזְמוֹר לְדָוִד׃

2    [a]{יְהֹוָה} בַּצַּר הִרְחַבְתָּ־לִּי    חָנֵּנִי וּשְׁמַע תְּפִלָּתִי׃

7    [β]אֹמְרִים מִי־יַרְאֵנוּ טוֹב    וְשָׂא אָלֵינוּ פָּנֶיךָ {{}[סֶלָה]

8    נָתַתָּה שִׂמְחָה בְלִבִּי    מֵעֵת דְּגָנָם וְתִירוֹשָׁם[δ]׃

9    בְּשָׁלוֹם [ε]אֶשְׁכְּבָה וְאִישָׁן    כִּי־אַתָּה[η] לְבָדָד תּוֹשִׁיבֵנִי׃(סֶלָה)

3    {{}עַד־מֶה[θ] תְאָהֵבוּן רִיק    תְּבַקְשׁוּ כָזָב {בְנֵי־אִישׁ}׃(}

5    רִגְזוּ וְאַל־תֶּחֱטָאוּ    מִרוּ[ι] עַל־מִשְׁכַּבְכֶם וְדֹמּוּ[]׃[λ]

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 2 (a) בְּקָרְאִי עֲנֵנִי | אֱלֹהֵי צִדְקִי | 7 (β) רַבִּים |
| 7 (γ) אוֹר | (δ) רַבּוּ | 9 (ε) יְהֹוָה (ζ) יַחְדָּו (η) לְבָדָד | 3 (θ) כְּבוֹדִי לִכְלִמָּה |
| 4 (ι) וּדְעוּ כִּי־הִפְלָה | יְהֹוָה חַסְדוֹ־לִי | |
| יְהֹוָה יִשְׁמַע | בְּקָרְאִי אֵלָיו׃ | 5 (κ) בִּלְבַבְכֶם |
| 6 (λ) זִבְחוּ זִבְחֵי־צֶדֶק | וּבִטְחוּ אֶל־יְהֹוָה׃ | |

For lam-minçáḥ see *Nah.* 47, 9. Lî in hirḥabtá-lî (and ḥasdô-lî) is enclitic; see *AJSL* **23**, 240; *Nah.* 19, end of notes on v. 5. The so-called *Dages forte conjunctivum* is due to the accent on the preceding syllable; see *Est.* 49, below. For dĕganîm uĕ-tîrôšîm instead of the Masoretic dĕganám uĕ-tîrôšám contrast *Kings* 268, 4. Tîrô-šám cannot be explained as a plural in -âm (cf. *Nah.* 31, 1; 42, n. †) like Assyr. šamâmi, heaven (*Isaiah* 157, 20). V. 6 is a euphemistic liturgical appendix; cf. Dr. K. J. Grimm's dissertation on that subject (Baltimore, 1901).

(33) Cf. Hommel, *Die Namen der Säugethiere bei den südsemitischen Völkern* (Leipzig, 1879) pp. 319. 355. 385.

(34) See KAT² 517; *Kings* 117, 30.

(35) Tanáḥhada means *to heave* a sigh or groan, *to raise* from the breast; cf. *AJSL* **20**, 170, below.

(36) Heb. hadôm may be connected with the root dûm, *to stand, stay;* the h is a secondary prefix as in halák, *to go;* harás, *to destroy,* &c.

(37) Compare *Kings* 299, 30.

(38) Read bám for bĕ-ma'sêhém which is due to dittography of ma'sêhém at the beginning of the following line.

(39) This should be pointed šôrîm, not šĕuarîm; similarly šĕuaqîm (*Cant.* **3**, 2) should be read šûqîm; see *JBL* **21**, 58; *Cant.* 73; cf. *Nah.* 32, l. 7.

(40) The reading נֵעָרֹת מַרְדוּת could be explained as *pluralis intensivus;* cf. *AJSL* **23**, 233, n. 40; *Nah.* 30, below; and above, n. 20.

(41) 'Αγίοις instead of ἀγγείοις is due to v. 54.

(42) A similar formation is rîpîtu; see Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Babyl. Religion* (Leipzig, 1901) p. 182, n. 10; *cf.* below, n. 45. The same word is contained in the Arabic place-name *Riphearma* (Pliny **6**, 158) *quo vocabulo hordeum appellant.* In the same paragraph Pliny mentions the spring *Aenuscabales, quod significat camelorum.* For *k* (κάμηλος) instead of *g* cf. *Est.* 57 (last paragraph of notes on **7**, 9) and for *b* = *m* see *Est.* 69, l. 4 of n. on v. 9; *cf.* our *cable* = κάμιλος = Arab. *jûmal* &c. *Gable* and *cupola* (Germ. *Giebel, Kuppel*) correspond to Arab. jamlûn = jablûn (AJSL **23**, 230).

(43) *Cf.* W. R. Smith, *The Religion of the Semites* (1894) p. 223, n. 1.

(44) Cf. *Actes du XIVe Congrès International des Orientalistes* (Algiers, 1905) Part 1 (Paris, 1906) p. 58.

(45) See Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, **1**, 316[b]; Benzinger, *Heb. Archäologie* (1907) p. 142. For 2 S **17**, 19 cf. *Est.* 74, n. *, and above, n. 42.

(46) *Cf.* KAT 208; GA 71. 87. 188. 193, especially p. 224; also the translation of *Joshua* in the Polychrome Bible, p. 49, and my paper *Midian und Sinai* in ZDMG **63**, Part 3.

(47) Heb. 'akkabîš, *spider*, is derived from 'akáb = 'aqáb (with *q* owing to the '*Ain*) to *impede, entangle, catch, entrap* (cf. 2 K **10**, 19). 'Aqáb is a denominative verb, derived from 'aqéb, *heel;* to *impede* means originally to *catch* (or *hold*) *the feet* of a person. For the final *š* cf. dargáš, *step* (discussed above, in § 6) and pîlägš = παλλακίς, παλλακή, *paelex, pelex.*

(48) Tamerâtu in the preceding line of the Bavian Inscription does not mean *neighborhood* (HW 711[b]) but *waterworks.* The stem is amâru = Arab. ḡámara (غمر الماء اذا كثر) to *be abundant*, which we have in the modern name of Tamar, 'Ain Ghamr (TOCR **1**, 303, n. 2). Amirânu (= Sum. e-nigin = Heb. miquê-máim) and ummaru (= diqaru, Arab. qidar, *pot;* AJSL **23**, 247, l. 3) are derived from the same stem. For Assyr. '*a* = Arab. غ *cf.* âribu, *raven* = غراب and *Kings* 163, 4.— Mê šîqi does not mean *drinking water*, but *conduit water* (Germ. *Wasserleitungswasser*).

(49) The same root is preserved in Arab. ḥátara, to *fasten* (= ašádda ua-áḥkama) and ḥátama = áḥkama. Also Heb. ḥatál, to *swathe*, from which the old name of Nazareth, Ḥethlôn, or rather Ḥittalôn (= Ḥinnathôn) is derived, goes back to this root; see TOCR **1**, 303; AAJ 6.

(50) For ittûtu, *copulation, union, alliance* (HW 161[b]) *cf.* Arab. ḥáta'a = nákaha.

(51) For the etymology of çubâtu see BL 123, n. *.

(52) Uççû = uçça'u, present Qal; *cf.* ulladu, uššabu, &c.

(53) The stem of this word, which was explained by Guyard in his *Notes de lexicographie assyrienne* (Paris, 1883) p. 75, is ǥâtâ (غَنِّي)= ḥallaṭa; *cf.* Syr. 'ĕtâ, *to act deceitfully;* 'uttâịa, *fraud.*

(54) *Cf.* Delitzsch's book, cited above, in n. 1, p. 168; Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.* p. 69, No. 422.

(55) For rikis qanî *cf.* σχοῖνος.

(56) *Cf.* Arab. fátana, *to captivate, to bewitch* (= aḍálla) and BL 87.

(57) *Cf.* nâru, *river* = nahru; dâru, *eternity* = dahru (KAT² 500; contrast HW 213ᵃ).

(58) *Cf.* mûru, for muhru (KAT² 508).

(59) Koldewey (MDOG **6**, 1) calls the kûmu of Nebuchadnezzar's palace (al-Qaçr) in Babylon *eine massive Plattform aus Ziegelbruch-stücken* or (**11**, 7) *eine hohe massive Terrasse aus Ziegelpackwerk;* MDOG **12**, 2, he speaks of the *Palast der Hauptburg, bei dem den gan-zen Baugrund ein kompaktes Mauerwerk aus Ziegelbruch gleichmässig überzieht;* **12**, 7 he refers to a *zusammenhängende Terrasse aus Ziegel-bruchwerk.* Andrä (**21**, 11) uses the term *Bruchsteinfundament* or (**25**, 45) *Plateaumauerwerk;* cf. also **27**, 25; **28**, 20 and 40, below; **30**, 21. 31. 36; **32**, 34.—The area of the Temple enclosure (Ḥáram aš-šarîf) in Jerusalem is a kûmu; see Benzinger, *Hebr. Archäologie* (1907) p. 211.

(60) For Nimrod instead of Gilgameš see *Pur.* 30, 18; contrast IN 448; GA 44. 402. It is by no means certain that the ideogram AN-IS-ṬU-BAR is to be read Gilgameš. AN-IS-ṬU-BAR and Gilgameš may be identical, but the reading of AN-IS-ṬU-BAR may be entirely different. We have no right to substitute *Phul* for the ideogram of *Tiglath-pileser.*

(61) Lit. *drawn out, extended.* Assyr. mašku, *skin* (lit. *what is pulled off, stripped off*) is derived from the same stem. In Arabic, mášaqa means *to draw out, stretch, extend.* For mášaqa = mása ka cf. *Kings* 119, 40. Mása ka means in Arabic: *to hold* (syn. iḥtábata, i'táçama) whence muskân, *pledge,* Assyr. maškânu (HW 431).

(62) Jensen, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos in der Weltliteratur* (Strass-burg, 1906) p. 3, below, says of my criticism of his translations: *Ob der Mann, der so wenig über seinem Stoff steht, wohl dazu berechtigt war, meine Arbeit am Gilgamesch-Epos—die er zu leisten jetzt wenigstens nicht mehr imstande wäre)—in so—zweideutiger Weise zu charakter-isieren, wie er in einer Schlussnote zu seinem Artikel thut?* I admit I have never been able to turn out translations as those revealed by Jensen, and I hope I never shall be. But I believe, with Frederick the Great, in the *niedriger hängen* of such pasquinades. There are a great many unsound statements in Jensen's book (cf. *Pur.* 39, 37). My remark was by no means *zweideutig,* but absolutely *eindeutig.* In ll.

224–229 of the Flood Tablet šabusat, bašlat, ilput, ikkiltâ, &c,
were correctly explained by Delitzsch (HW 639ᵇ. 189ᵃ. 382ᵇ. 725ᵇ).
Even Delitzsch's explanation of the numerals ištât, &c, given in
1889, was far better than Jensen's renderings given in 1900 or 1906
(see *op. cit.* p. 46). Cf. also Jensen, *Moses, Jesus, Paulus,* second
edition (Frankfurt a/M, 1909) p. 14.

(63) For šabâsu see *Genesis* 81, 52; *Isaiah* 116, 27; *cf.* the Talmudic
šibbéš, *to confuse* (lit. *mix up*), and ištabbâš, *to blunder* (lit. *to be
mixed up*) also Arab. tašábbaça = tašábbaka and the Biblical haš-
šabáç (2 S 1, 9) *giddiness* (lit. *confusion*).

(64) Cf. *Numbers* 44, 14; 43, 23.

(65) The cuneiform text should be read: ištât šábusat kurum-
mátsu, šanûtuᵐ múššukat, šalûltuᵐ rátbat, rebûtuᵐ ibtéçî
kâmânšu, xamûltuᵐ šîba ittádî, šadûltuᵐ bášlat, sebûtuᵐ
ina pitî-ma ilpússu-ma ikkiltâ amêlu. For šîba = šîpa see
BAL 102, n. 3; I know of no passage where šadûltuᵐ is written pho-
netically, but šêššu, *sixth*, stands for šêdšu, šádišu, just as eššu,
*new* = edšu = ḥádašu; cf. *Pur.* 39, 24. *Ibid.* 30, 33, I have given a
transliteration of lines 71–75 of the Flood Tablet. With Delitzsch's
translation of this passage in MDOG **33**, 34, l. 10, contrast *Pur.* 3, 20.
For ll. 82. 83. 68. 174 of the Flood Tablet see *Est.* 47 (*ad* **6**, 3).

(66) Langdon (OLZ **12**, 114) seems to think that šîba â iddî
means *he shall not put on a luxurious and gay garment;* cf. also HW
653ᵃ. In ASKT 121, obv. 5, šîbu means *old man;* we must evidently
read ab ba-bi in the Sumerian line. For the etymology of šêpu,
*foot,* see JHUC, No. 106, p. 107.

(67) *Cf.* Arab. músqah, from mášiqa which is a secondary stem
derived from mašáqq, stem šáqqa; *cf.* AJSL **23**, 251, below, and
above, n. 61.

(68) See Haupt, *The Assyrian E-vowel* (Baltimore, 1887) p. 20, *b;*
*Pur.* 23, 19.

(69) See KAT 409, n. 1; *Realencyklopädie für protestantische
Theologie und Kirche,* third edition, ed. by A. Hauck, Vol. **16** (Leip-
zig, 1905) p. 640, l. 25; *cf.* also p. 642, l. 35; 647, 14; for 641, 53 *cf.* OLZ
**12**, 60. Heb. כִּיּוּן was combined with قيوم by Redslob more than
sixty years ago; see Gesenius' *Thesaurus* 669ᵇ, below. Ραιφαν of
LXX is a corruption of Γαιφαν = Γαιϝαν (ZA **2**, 205). The initial *g* in-
stead of *k* is due to the final *n;* cf. above, § 9.

(70) *Cf.* TOCR **1**, 269, below, and 272, l. 5; also 325 and OLZ **10**, 309.

(71) The Israelites were not in Egypt, but the Edomite ancestors of
the Jews were in Egypt about 1230 B.C. (AAJ 8, n. 18; OLZ **12**, 163. 212).

(72) *Pluralis intensivus;* see above, n. 40. The following clause,
*your astral god which ye have made for yourselves,* is a tertiary gloss.
For the position of the suffix in kôkáb ĕlôhêkhém *cf.* GK, § 136, n.

(73) The me- before hâl'ah, *away, onward*, is dittography of the final *m* of the preceding ĕthkhém, and lĕ-Dammésq is an incorrect tertiary gloss. The three lines must be read as follows:

25  הַזְּבָחִים וּמִנְחָה הִגַּשְׁתֶּם־לִי    בַּמִּדְבָּר אַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה ᵃ

26  וּנְשָׂאתֶם אֵת־סִכּוּת מַלְכְּכֶם    וְאֵת    כִּיּוּן    צַלְמֵיכֶם ᵝ׃

27  וְהִגְלֵיתִי אֶתְכֶם °הָלְאָה ᵞ    אָמַר    יהוה ᵟ צְבָאוֹת ᵋ׃

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(a) בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל                    (β) כּוֹכַב אֱלֹהֵיכֶם אֲשֶׁר עֲשִׂיתֶם לָכֶם
(γ) לְדַמֶּשֶׂק                        (δ) אֱלֹהֵי          (ε) שְׁמוֹ

The original form of the name *Damascus* is Dâr-mašqî, *Settlement in a well-watered region;* see n. 65 to my paper *Midian und Sinai* in ZDMG **63**, Part 3.

(74) For processions in ancient Egypt see Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte Ägyptens* (Berlin, 1887) p. 256.

(75) Cf. *Pur.* 1, 8; 2, 27; 3, 8. 29; 4, 41; 10, 39; 17, 27; OLZ **12**, 67, n. 5.

# A NEO-BABYLONIAN CATALOGUE OF HYMNS

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It is a well-known fact that the Babylonians, as well as the Sumerians, gathered their religious literature into series of texts which in turn made up larger groups.[1] The best-known series of religious texts are the *Maklû* texts published by Tallqvist, the *Šurpu* series by Zimmern, the *Labartu* texts by Myrhman, and the *Utukki Limnûti*, *Ašakki Marṣûti*, and *Ti'i* texts published by Thompson. But a glance at the index volume (V) of the *Catalogue of the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum* will show that these series constitute but a small part of the religious literature of the Babylonians. By far the largest group of texts there catalogued are the omen-texts, of which there are many series. Thus we know of at least one hundred and six tablets in a series called Enuma alu ina milî isakan, and at least nineteen in a series known as Enuma aña bît marṣi. The latter series is subdivided into texts Enuma marṣi, and Enuma maḫra. Another large group is made up of many series of astrological tablets, Enuma kakkab Bêl, Enuma Sin ina Tamartišu, etc. The mythological texts are also grouped into series. We have the series of twelve tablets called Ša naḳbi imuru, a series which we know best as the Gilgameš Epic. The series which contains the Babylonian account of the creation was known to the Babylonians as Enuma eliš.[2]

These groups and series of tablets were not the product of one age, nor did they form the library of any one particular temple or individual, but they are the result of a long process of collecting and editing.[3] A series of tablets was written for, and used in the

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[1] So for example the different series URU-A-ŠE-IR, URU-ḪUL-A-GE, etc., of the *Sumerisch-Babylonische Hymnen* published by Reisner, make up the larger groups ER-ŠEM-MA, ER-ŠAB KU-MAL, etc. According to Langdon, *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms*, p. ix, "the Sumerians classified the hymns for public service not according to content but according to the instrument used for the music."

[2] Cf. Vol. V, p. xxii of the Catalogue.

[3] Such as is recognized in the evolution of the Homeric poems.

ritual of one temple, and later the priests of other temples would adapt these texts for their temples and incorporate them into their rituals. This process has been discussed by Jastrow[4] and Langdon.[5] Of individual collectors Aššurbanipal is of course the great example.

### THE H. CLARK CYLINDER
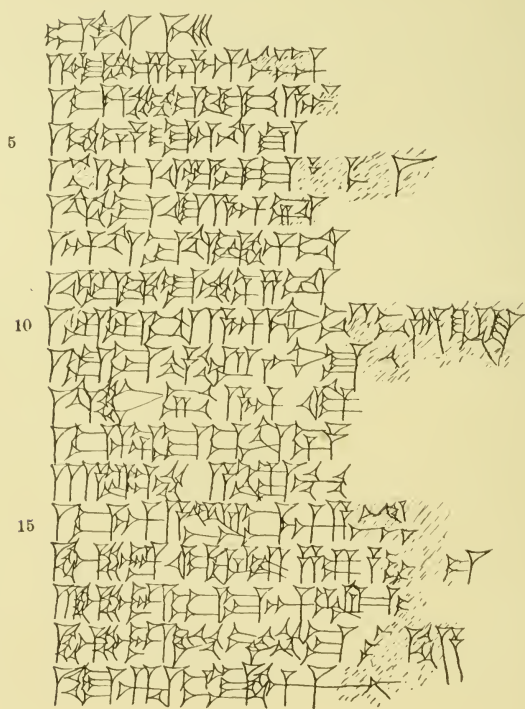


The text here published is a catalogue of the tablets found in the library of some temple or individual. The small number of texts catalogued makes the latter alternative more probable. The collection consisted of twenty-one texts belonging to seventeen different series. There were two texts from each of two series, three from another series, and one apiece from fourteen other

[4] *Religion*, p. 269.    [5] *Op. cit.*, pp. xvi f.

series. Two of the series here recorded have been known from
the *Hymnen* published by Reisner, namely the AMA-E BARA-AN-NA-
RA and UD-DAM KI-ÀM(A-AN)-UŠ series of ll. 5 and 7.[6] These
series as well as another, URU-BA LAḤ-EL-LAL-NI-KU, are also found
in the lists published in IV R. p. 53.[7]

The catalogue is written on a clay cylinder,[8] about one inch
in diameter and two inches high,[9] the text running along the
cylinder, not around it. Unfortunately the ends of the lines,
some of which run over on the end of the cylinder, are badly
rubbed, so that the readings here are doubtful. It is of course
impossible to attempt any restorations in a text in which each
line is distinct from the others. The catalogue is written in a
clear neo-Babylonian script.

<div align="center">TRANSLITERATION</div>

1.    ENIM-DINGIR-RI-E AD(?)
      DUBBA-ENIM-MEŠ
  2   U-MU-UN-E AN-NA-RA
  1   E-ZID-DÊ DUG-GA-ÀM(A-AN)
5.  1 AMA-E BARA-AN-NA-RA
    1 KI-EŠ ḤUL BA-AD(?)- -
    1 UD-DAM KI-ÀM(A-AN)-UŠ
    1 DINGIR-BABBAR ŠU-UD-DA-IM-GIN
    1 ḤUL GAL-LA MU-UN-GIN
10. 1 DIB-DIB TA-A-AN ME-NI-IŠ(?)—(?)-DINGIR-RA-KI
    1 URU-BA LAḤ EL-LAL-NI-KU—
    1 UD IN-GA-ÀM(A-AN)-DI
    1 E-BAR SI ŠU AL(?)-E
    2 A-ABZU-MU A- (?) -MU
15. 1 E-DINGIR-A-MA(?)-RU E-DINGIR-A-
    1 IM-GID-DA KI-EL KASKAL ZA-E(?)—(?)-GIŠ
    3 IM-GID-DA AB-BA DINGIR-NUSKU(?)—
    1 IM-GID-DA ŠÊŠ DIM-MA-(?)-SUN(?)
    1 NIN-RI-ṢI(?) IM-PAP(?)

[6] Reisner, p. xviii.

[7] Discussed by Langdon, *op. cit.*, p. ix.

[8] In the possession of Mr. Herbert Clark of Jerusalem, Syria, who has kindly permitted
its publication.

[9] Unfortunately my measurements in cms. have been lost.

L. 1. "Prayer, or word addressed (?) to God." The first sign is probably nim, to be read ENIM for INIM. It is possible that the sign is to be read differently, but its use in the title of the catalogue, as well as in the sub-title, l. 2, makes the reading suggested probable. It is hardly probable that we have in this line the title of a larger group made up of the tablets selected from the different series which follow. The last sign is doubtful.

L. 2. "Tablet of the prayers?" For a discussion of the "word" of the gods, see Langdon, *op. cit.*, pp. xix f.

L. 3. U-MU-UN=bêlu or ekimmu, Br. 9475 f. The former meaning is more probable here. Perhaps the series was entitled "To the lord who has gone on high." All the translations suggested are provisional. Even in the series which are known from the hymns published by Reisner, the translation of the titles is difficult. When we know nothing of the nature of the series whose titles we have, the translation of these titles is still more difficult. There were two hymns from this series in the collection.

L. 4. E-ZID-DÊ, cf. Br. 2360. Perhaps the same as E-ZID-DA of Borsippa.[10] ÀM, verbal prefix. "E-ZID-DÊ, eternal temple it is called." It is possible that the same series was mentioned in IV R. 53, col. ii, 12.

L. 5. Reisner, *Hymnen*, p. xvii, translates this into Semitic as rimû (for rîmu) ina parakki-šu, "to the bull in his shrine." AMA = 'rîmu' is of course to be understood as figuratively equivalent to bêlu, Br. 4543.[11] This series, which consisted of six tablets concerning Nippur, has been translated by Langdon, *op. cit.*, pp. 95 f. Lines 3 f. of the fourth tablet, p. 112, are particularly interesting in that they contain references to the god as the "bull that overwhelms," GUD SUN-E. The bull as image of the deity is common in Semitic religion. This series is also mentioned in IV R. 53, col. i, 14. A similar series may be seen in *ibid.*, ll. 7 and 37, AMA-E AMAŠ-AN-NA-[RA], ana rîmu ina supûrišu.

[10] Cf. *AJSL*, XXIV, p. 321.
[11] Cf. The temple Ê AM-KUR KUR-RA, *AJSL*, XXIV, p. 293.

L. 6. "Where evil has . . . . a house." The end of the line containing the verb cannot be deciphered.

L. 7. UD-DAM KI-ÀM(A-AN)-UŠ, translated by ša ki-ma ûmu šur-šu-du, "which like the day is founded."[12] The known texts of this series are translated by Langdon, *op. cit.*, pp. 37 f. Langdon translates ûmu as "spirit."[13] From IV R. 53, col. i, 6 and 36, we see that this title was also written UD-DAM KI-ÀM (A-AN)-MU-UŠ.

L. 8. "The sun god who brings the light." This was either a series of hymns to Šamaš, or is to be regarded as similar to the series DINGIR-BABBAR-DÍM È-TA of IV R. 53, col. i, 5 and 35.[14]

L. 9. "He has come bringing evil (?)."

L. 10. DIB-DIB, cf. Br. 10727 f. TA-A-AN=kima. ME-NI, verbal affix, perhaps imperative. The last three signs are on the end of the cylinder.

L. 11. "In the city a light in its brightness."

L. 12. IN-GA-ÀM(A-AN) is verbal prefix, DI probably šalâmu.

L. 13. This line is very difficult. ŠU seems to be the correct reading of the fourth sign, cf. ŠU in l. 8. But the fifth sign is doubtful, perhaps AL or GIŠ-NA.

L. 14. "Water of (?) my ABZU, water of (?) my . . . . ." The ABZU was part of ancient temples; cf. *AJSL*, XXIV, 292, under E-ABZU.[15] This ABZU or apsû, 'sea,' was probably the basin or pool in the court of the temple where the worshipers performed their ablutions. It is interesting to notice that the large basin in the court of Solomon's temple was also called a "sea" (I Kings 7:23 f.). The second sign from the end is not known to me. Is it perhaps a form of DAM and to be connected with the E-DAM of the older temples?[16] There were two texts from this series in the collection.

L. 15. Perhaps "Temple of Marduk;" but the reading MA is doubtful.

[12] Cf. Reisner, No. 4, l. 2.

[13] Cf. his discussion of ûmu, "spirit," p. 98, note 7.

[14] A tablet from this series, "Arise like the sun," is translated by Langdon, *op. cit.*, pp. 237 f.

[15] There was a series of hymns called E-ABZU-TA; cf. IV R. 53, col. iii, 10.

[16] Cf. *AJSL*, XXIV, 299.

L. 16. im-gid-da = "šâru kabtu;" ki-el, "ardatu;" but the connection between these words and kaskal, "ḫarrânu" and the remainder of the line is not clear. A series im-kur-ra a-an-ge is mentioned in IV R. 53, col. ii, 36.

L. 17. ab-ba = "abû." The readings after dingir are doubtful. There were three tablets from this series in the collection.

L. 18. šêš = "aḫu;" dim-ma, "šarru."

L. 19. The third sign is probably ṣi and the last, on the end of the cylinder, probably pap; but the connection is obscure.

# THE GREEK PREVERB AND ITS HEBREW-ARAMAIC EQUIVALENT

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"Preverb" is a convenient term for the prepositional element in a compound verb; thus in *forewarned, forearmed* the preverb consists in the element *fore-*. Compound verbs, characteristic as they are of the Indo-European family of languages, are just as conspicuously wanting in the Semitic languages. Their employment in the Greek translations of the Scriptures accords with the genius of the Greek language; nevertheless the supposition is a natural one that there must be something in the Semitic original which induces the translator to use a compound rather than the uncompounded verb, and particularly one compound in preference to another. In other words, the Semitic idiom must possess some device which corresponds to the Greek preverb, though it is equally possible that where the shades of meaning differentiating one compound from another are subtle, the Semitic original may be powerless to express them; in such cases the choice of the compound would appear to rest on inner-Greek considerations for which there is no basis in the original. Such possibilities lend additional interest to an inquiry warranted as it is already by mere linguistic curiosity; the aim thereof being to define our powers of retroversion or identification by eliminating all elements which are irrelevant as well as by emphasizing those which are most helpful. In order to illustrate the method of such an investigation, two representative verbs have been chosen, of which one is particularly rich in compounds and correspondingly in Hebrew-Aramaic equivalents.

Ἀγγέλλειν is a denominative from ἄγγελος *a messenger* and means *bear a message*. The simplex occurring altogether four times corresponds in three instances (in prose) to הִגִּיד [1] *tell* and

[1] II Ki. 15:13; 18:11; Je. 4:15.

in one instance (in poetry) to הִבִּיעַ[2] *utter*, prop. *cause to bubble forth.* Accordingly ταῦτα μὲν ἡμῖν ἤγγειλέ τις[3] *some one told us about this* would roughly correspond to הֻגַּד הֻגַּד לָנוּ זֹאת. But our attention is immediately arrested by the variation in the codices. Thus in II Ki. 15: 13 we meet with the variant ἀπ-, 18: 11 with ἀν- and ἀπ-; Si. 43: 2 the simplex is found only in אׁ[c.a] against δι- in the remaining codd.; Je. 4: 15 the variants ἀν- and ἀπ- are recorded. Now of these compounds, ἀναγγέλλειν properly signifies *carry back tidings, report*, the force of the preverb being "back"[4] as in ἀναχωρεῖν *go back, retire.* Thus, when Jacob bids Joseph look after the welfare of his brethren and *report back* to him, he expresses himself in Hebrew: הֲשִׁבֵנִי דָבָר[5] *bring me back word*, of which the Greek is rightly: ἀνάγγει-λόν μοι.[6] Hence the preverb ἀν- *back* corresponds to the Hebrew root שׁוּב. In ἀπαγγέλλειν the preverb seems to have the same force as in ἀπειπεῖν *speak out, tell out, declare*, ἀποφάναι *speak out, declare flatly* or *plainly.* When Samuel relates to Eli the entire message of God, suppressing nothing, καὶ ἀπήγγειλε[7] is the proper rendering of וַיַּגֶּד־.[8] Or, when the companions of Jehu, after an evasive answer, address to him the words: שֶׁקֶר הַגֶּד־נָא לָנוּ[9] *It is false, tell us now*, the Greek Ἄδικον, ἀπάγγειλον[10] δὴ ἡμῖν is most adequate. In other words, the force of the Greek preverb does not lie in the direct Hebrew equivalent, but in the context. The meaning *tell freely, unreservedly*, or *circumstantially* will be found to be bound up with the context in many other places where ἀπαγγέλλειν is employed by the translator for Hebrew הִגִּיד.[11] Nevertheless we meet with this compound where no such meaning is at all appropriate to the context and where the weaker *announce* is all that is required.[12] Conversely ἀναγγέλλειν is used where the message is altogether an unexpected

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[2] Si. 43: 2 (so Hebrew text; mg מוֹפִיעַ); comp. 16: 25; Pr. 15: 2.

[3] PLAT., *Phaed.* 58 A.

[4] BRUGMANN, *Griechische Grammatik*, § 496.          [5] Ge. 37: 14.

[6] ῥῆμα which some codd. add is a Hebraizing plus; ἀναγγέλλειν is הֲשִׁיב דָּבָר.

[7] ἀν- 106.          [8] I Sa. 3: 18.          [9] IV Ki. 9: 12.          [10] ἀν- Α.

[11] Comp. Ge. 12: 18; 21: 26; 24: 49, 49; 29: 15 a. e.  ἀπ- is certainly in place Le. 5: 1 where the free and circumstantial communication of a witness is in question.

[12] Comp. Ge. 14: 13; 29: 12 a. e.

one and the sense *report back* therefore inappropriate. Hence, it would seem as if the preverb had lost its inherent force, and ἀναγγ. came to mean simply *make known*, exactly as we use the verb *report* without reference to the element *re-* in this general sense rather than with the implication that the statement is made to us by a person previously sent to investigate. This being the case, we can understand why the codd. almost constantly substitute ἀπ- for ἀν- and *vice versa*, the two having come to be used in the general sense without an appreciable difference of connotation. The Hebrew original is in one case as in the other indifferently הִגִּיד.

Of the other compounds, διαγγέλλειν which seems to signify *relate through, tell to a finish, narrate completely*, Latin *pernarrare*,[13] or in a distributive sense *proclaim here and there, proclaim abroad*, corresponds to Hebrew סִפֵּר,[14] or הֶעֱבִיר in the phrase (תְּרוּעָה) שׁוֹפָר 'ה,[15] a singularly idiomatic expression in which the word קוֹל[16] is to be supplied and which with its complement בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ prop. means *cause the sound of the horn (of alarm*[17]*) to pass throughout all the land*, hence RV. *send abroad the (loud) trumpet throughout*, etc. and the Greek διαγγέλλειν σάλπιγγι (σάλπιγγος φωνῇ) ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ prop. *make universal announcement with (by means of) the (sound of the) trumpet throughout all the land*. The preverb δι- thus corresponds in the one case to the Hebrew *Intensive* (*Piel*), and in the other to the root עבר plus בְּ (ἐν = διά). The latter instance is instructive inasmuch as it directs us to pay attention to the prepositional complement; הֶעֱבִיר בְּ is a syntactical group[18] quite as much as

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[13] With a "perfectivizing" force. See on the subject BRUGMANN, §542; DELBRÜCK, *Vergleichende Syntax der indogermanischen Sprachen*, II, 146 ff.; GILES, *Manual of Comparative Philology*, 2d ed., 477 ff.; J. H. MOULTON, *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, I (Prolegomena, 1906), 108 ff.

[14] Ex. 9:16. סִפֵּר corresponds also etymologically to our *tell*, Germ. *erzählen*.

[15] Le. 25:9, 9.

[16] Comp. הֶעֱבִיר קוֹל Ex. 36:6 a. e.= *proclaim*, prop. *cause a sound to pass through* (sq. בַּמַּחֲנֶה *the camp*, בְּכָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל *throughout all Israel* and the like).

[17] Comp. Nu. 10:5.

[18] A syntactical group is on the way to becoming a compound. In point of fact, the transition is so gradual that it is difficult to draw a hard and fast line between "group" and "compound." The phonetic fusion simply completes the organic union which rests on

our *cause to pass through*, to which the corresponding Greek phrase in full is διαγγέλλειν ἐν. ‖ Ἐπηγγελμένη *promised* is an adequate rendering of the *hapax legomenon* נֶחֶרָפָה.[19] ‖ When Jacob bids his sons gather that he may tell them what is to happen to them in after-days,[20] one Greek codex[21] employs the compound προαναγγέλλειν *tell beforehand*, *foretell* for Hebrew הִגִּיד; it is clear that προ- *beforehand* corresponds to nothing in the Hebrew itself except the general context. On the other hand προαπαγγέλλειν[22] *make free announcement beforehand* fully covers הִזְהִיר[23] *warn*, *forewarn* without reference to the context.

The second of the verbs I have chosen for the purposes of this paper, ἄγειν, is a verb of motion signifying *lead*, Lat. *ducere*. The compounds through their preverbs naturally express the direction of the movement of *leading*, either *up* (ἀν-) or *down* (κατ-), *away from* (ἀπ-) or *to* (προσ-) a person or place, *in* (εἰσ-) or *out* (ἐξ-), *upon* (ἐπ-), *above* (ὑπερ-), *below* (ὑπ-), *through, apart* (δι-), *back* (ἀν-), *before, forward* (προ-), *beside* (παρ-), *in a circle, round* (περι-); or there may enter into the connotation the idea of *change* (*transfer*, μετ-), or the movement may be exerted upon a number of persons or things *led* or *brought together* (συν-) to one place. The simplex should properly be indifferent to any of these connotations, and have nothing to do with starting-point or goal or any direction whatsoever, denoting the mere action of *leading* (guiding, conducting). For language may justly choose to disregard the concomitant modifications and seize upon the act itself at a point in the middle of the line rather than at the ends. The idyllic picture of a little child *leading* the wolf and the lamb and the leopard and the kid and the calf and the young lion and the fatling in the blissful era of Messianic peace would certainly be marred by an additional touch defining the starting-point or the goal or what not; the indefinite *leading* is all that is expressed by נֹהֵג בָּם[24] ἄξει αὐτούς. When

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semasiological grounds. See on the subject BRUGMANN, *Über das Wesen der sogenannten Worszusammensetzung*, in: Berichte der Königl. sächsischen Gesellsch. d. Wiss., 1900, 359 ff. (and the literature on p. 360, footnote 1, to which add DELBRÜCK, *Grundfragen der Sprachforschung*, 1901, 120 ff.).

[19] Le. 19:20 AL.          [20] Ge. 49:1.          [21] 20.

[22] Var. προαν-; προσαν- and παρ- read by others may be scribal variations.

[23] Ez. 33:9.          [24] Is. 11:6.

the prophet apostrophizes the Lord as the guide of His people,
he has before him the picture of *cattle going down into the valley*,
כְּבְּהֵמָה בַּבִּקְעָה תֵרֵד ; but when he uses the expression: *So didst
Thou lead Thy people*, כֵּן נִהַגְתָּ עַמְּךָ [25] οὕτως ἤγαγες τὸν λαόν σου,
he is surely not thinking of *up* or *down* or any direction. When
therefore the simplex ἄγειν is employed for נָהַג, נִהֵג, both
translator and original disengage the verb from its syntactical
group or the context and give it its proper inherent connotation
in the abstract. Thus whether Moses is *leading* the flock of
Jethro *to the back of the wilderness*,[26] or the king of Assyria is
*leading away* (so EV.) the captives of Egypt,[27] the translator
with his simple ἄγειν and the original with its נָהַג abide by the
colorless *leading*, leaving the rest to the context.[28] In like man-
ner is ἄγειν used for הִנְחָה[29] *lead*, *guide*. הוֹבִיל[30] *lead*, *conduct*
is a third equivalent: a lamb is *led* (so RV.) to the slaughter,
hence to a definite goal, but the Hebrew as well as the Greek
verb in itself indicates the action without reference to the goal.
Or the Hebrew equivalent is הוֹלִיךְ prop. *cause to go* or *walk*,
*lead;* a further determination will follow as to the area *through*[31]
which the object is led, or the place *to*[32] which it is conveyed or
brought, or a complement indicating the periphery (*round
about*),[33] but the simple uncompounded ἄγειν will suffice. Shake-
speare's "*Take* the stranger to my house,"[34] where *take* is used in
the sense of *conducting*, might thus be rendered in Hebrew:
הוֹלֵךְ אֶת־הָאִישׁ הַגֵּר אֶל־בֵּיתִי . But the same semasiological de-
velopment is witnessed on Hebrew ground itself, and we read of
men לְקֻחִים לַמָּוֶת[35] *taken*, that is *led*, Greek ἀγόμενοι, to *death*,

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[25] Is. 63 : 14.                [26] Ex. 3 : 1.                [27] Is. 20 : 4.

[28] The other instances are Ex. 14 : 25 ; II Ki. 6 : 3 ; IV Ki. 4 : 24 ; 9 : 20, 20 (καὶ ὁ ἄγων ἦγε τὸν
Ιου = וְהַמִּנְהָג מִנְהַג יֵהוּא / καὶ ἡ ἀγωγὴ ἀγωγὴ Ιου Α = מִנְהַג יֵהוּא / καὶ ἡ ἀγωγὴ
ὡς ἀγωγὴ Ιου Compl. = 𝔐 וְהַמִּנְהָג כְּמִנְהַג יֵהוּא), 20 ; I Ch. 13 : 7 ; Na. 2 : 7 (מִנְהֲגוֹת /
מִנְהֲגוֹת La. 1 : 4 (נְהָגוֹת [= נְהוּגוֹת / נְגוֹגוֹת ; Compl. adds αἰχμάλωτοι which is correct
as far as the sense goes) ; all told 13.

[29] De. 32 : 12 ; Jb. 38 : 32.                [30] Is. 53 : 7 ; Je. 11 : 19.

[31] ἐν, διά בְּ : De. 29 : 5(4) ; Is. 48 : 21 (r. αὐτούς with AQ. al.) ; 63 : 13.

[32] εἰς הֵ or *accus. loci*, ἐπί c. accus. אֶל־ : II Ch. 33 : 11 ; 35 : 24 ; Je. 52 : 26 (in the latter
passage also πρός אֶל־ *to* a person) ; Ez. 43 : 1.

[33] κύκλῳ סְבִיבוֹת : Ez. 31 : 4 (הֹלֵךְ / הֹלְכָה).

[34] C. of E. IV 1 : 36.                [35] Pr. 24 : 11.

or of Esther that וַתִּלָּקַח אֶל־יַד הֵגַי [36] she was *taken* (so RV.),
ἤχθη,[37] that is *led* or *brought* (AV.), *to the custody of Hegai*, or
of the Egyptian slave *taken*, that is *conveyed*, *brought* (EV.) to
David;[38] so also of a king *taking*, that is *leading*, his people for
military operations.[39]   The Greek ἄγειν is employed with a touch
of freedom even when Hebrew לָקַח partakes of the connotation
*fetch, summon* (EV. *take*).[40]   But ἄγειν corresponds also to our
*bring* which above the action of *leading* marks the goal; that is
to say, it is dependent upon a complement, *to* a place or person,
which however need not always be expressed when it may be
easily supplied from the general context.   The Hebrew equiva-
lent is naturally הֵבִיא, the Aramaic הַיְתִי, both prop. *cause to
come;* to speak more exactly, the following groups ensue which
should be treated as units:

| ἄγειν εἰς (τόπον), | *bring to* (a place) | [43]accus.+, [42]הֵ־+, [41]אֶל־+ | הֵבִיא |
| " ἐπί ( " ), | " " " | [44](אֶל־=)־עַל+ | " |
| " ὧδε, | " *hither* | [45]הֲלֹם (עַד־הֲלֹם) | " |
| " πρός τινα or τι, | " *to* (a person or thing) | [46]אֶל־+ | " |
| " ἐπί τινα or τι, | " *upon* or *against, to* (a person or thing) | [49]אֶל־, [48]עַד־+, [47]עַל־+ | " |

[36] Est. 2:8.   The intervening אֶל־בֵּית הַמֶּלֶךְ πρὸς οἶκον τοῦ βασιλέως sub * 93b > 𝕲.

[37] ἐλήμφθη 19 literal.

[38] I Ki. 30:11.  𝕲 presents a doublet: καὶ λαμβάνουσιν αὐτόν (the literal rendering, > 44) καὶ ἄγουσιν αὐτόν.

[39] II Ch. 16:6; but BA. 68. 107. 144 literally ἔλαβεν.·

[40] Je. 50(43):10.   In the sense of *fetching* HOMER, Od. 14, 414: ἄξεθ' ὑῶν τὸν ἄριστον.

[41] Nu. 32:17; Jd. 21:12; III Ki. 4:21 (5:8) A (comp. ΄ΑΣΘ ⲟⲟⲥ ‎ﻜﺎﺑﻤ‎) Ps. 42(43):3 (also ΄ΑΣΘΕ΄) Ez. 19:4; 20:35; 40:1, 2 (𝕲 read שמה; ויבא אתי במראות אלהים אל, however, is found in Q. al.); עַל (=־אֶל) Is. 66:20.

[42] Je. 20:5; 39(46):7; Θ 52:11; Ez. 11:24; 12:13; 17:21(20).

[43] Jd. 1:7; II Ki. 14:23; IV Ki. 23:30; II Ch. 28:5; Je. 24:1.

[44] II Ch. 2:16(15); Je. 25:9.         [45] Jd. 18:3; II Ki. 17:18 ΄A.

[46] Ge. 2:19, 22; 47:17; Le. 24:11; Nu. 5:15; 31:12; II Ki. 14:10; II Ch. 22:9; Ez. 19:9 QA. —III Ki. 14:10 πρός σε εἰς οἶκον A represents perhaps a conflation of εἰς οἶκον 52 and πρὸς οἶκον Sixt. 𝔖h/אֶל־בֵּית; of course ־אֶל in this place supplanted ־עַל, and the correct render-ing should have been ἐπ' οἶκον.

[47] II Ch. 33:11; Je. 29(49):8.

[48] Ex. 22:13(12) (עַד־/עֵד); Is. 9:6 (אָבִי/אֲבִ).

[49] Pr. 7:22 (to the slaughter).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ἄγειν τινί, | *bring to* (a person) | הֵבִיא + לְ⁵⁰ |
| "   εἰς τινες or τι, | "    *among* (persons) or *into* (a thing) | "   + בְּ⁵¹ |
| "   ἐν τι, | "    *into* (a thing) | "   + בְּ⁵² |

Sometimes the complement appears later in the context,[53] or consists in a phrase which is tantamount to a definition of the goal,[54] or is easily supplied from the general context;[55] in a few instances it is wanting altogether,[56] that is to say, it is ideally in the mind of the writer, but the search therefor would be pedantic, or indeed the verb is used absolutely, = *bring, bring on,*[57] *bring near, bring to pass.*

In the same manner we find the groups

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ἄγειν πρός τινα εἰς τόπον, | *bring to* (a person) *to* (a place) | הֶעֱלָה + אֶל־ + הָ־⁵⁸ |
| "   ἐπί τινα, | *bring upon* or *against* (a person) | "   + עַל־⁵⁹ |

where, especially with a view to parallel passages, the compound ἀν- might justly be expected.

[50] I Es. 8:47 = Ezr. 8:18; Mi. 1:15 Σ (also 𝔊ᴼᵐᵍ. 22 al.).

[51] Ez. 32:9 (שִׁבְרְךָ/שֶׁבְרָךְ); Pr. 18:6 (רְבָאָהּ/רִבָאוּ).

[52] Ec. 11:9; 12:14 (into judgment); Ez. 27:26 (into great waters).

[53] Je. 38(31):8 הֵנָּה at the end of the verse.

[54] IV Ki. 17:24 sq. *and placed them in the cities of Samaria*, hence = to Samaria; ib. 28 sq. *and he dwelt in Bethel* (וַיִּבְאָה var. רִבָּא/רִבְבָא; Da. 1:3 sq.

[55] III Ki. 3:1 (2:40) sc. to Jerusalem; 𝔊 1:3 sc. to the palace.

[56] Ge. 46:32; I Ki. 15:20; II Ki. 3:23 AB. 247; Ec. 3:22 (also Σ); Is. 43:5, 6; 46:11 (EV. *bring it to pass*); 48:15; 49:22; Ez. 7:24; 22:4 (וַתָּבֹאִי עֵת/הֵבֵאתִי עַד־ ‖ הִקְרִיב; *bring near*); 30:11 ⊖; II Ki. 10:16 Σ (רִבָּאוּ/רִבֵּאוּ); Da. 9:24 'A; הֻבֵאתָ Da. 𝔊⊖ 3:13; 𝔊 3:13; ⊖ 5:3; 6:16(17); 24:(25). Add Mi. 1:15 according to B. al.; ἕως apparently a conjunction (so 𝔊𝔅, comp. Theodoret; contrast 𝔖ʰ), = עַד־/עֹד, though it is difficult to see what form underlies the 3 pers. plur. (ἀγάγωσιν is not an itacistic error / ἀγάγω σοι, since לָב is used up for the first part of לָכִישׁ; it is of course possible that the text used by the translator read עַד הִירֵשׁ אָבִי לָב יֹשֶׁבֶת לָכִישׁ מֹרָשָׁה, that is to say, לָכִישׁ represented an unerased partial dittogram of לָב יֹשֶׁבֶת; then ἀγάγω σοι the original 𝔊 reading, and our example should be added to those in note 50). Note Is. 31:2 where, however, 𝔊 adds ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς; the sense is *bring on*.

[57] Comp. Homer, *Il.* 24. 547 πῆμα τόδ᾽ ἤγαγον Οὐρανίωνες.

[58] Je. 52:9 (contrast ⊖ ib. 39[46]:5).

[59] Ez. 16:40 (contrast 23:46).

A free rendering is ἄγε *bring*, in the sense of הָבִיאִ, for
תְּנוּ,[60] EV. *give up*. A weak rendering is ἄξεις δὲ δράκοντα ἐν ἀγκί-
στρῳ; *wilt thou bring*[61] *a dragon with a fishing-hook?* תִּמְשֹׁךְ
לִוְיָתָן בְּחַכָּה,[62] where מָשַׁךְ means *draw up* or *out*,[63] *fish up*.

The following phrases are based on the ordinary meaning of
the Greek verb, *lead* or *bring*: αἰχμάλωτος ἄγεσθαι *be led*, that
is, *carried off, captive*, Hebrew הָלַךְ בַּשְּׁבִי, בָּלָה גָלָה,[64] נִגְלָה,[65] הָלַךְ,[66]
γῆρας ἄγειν *bring on old age*, Heb. הִזְקִין;[67] δρόμῳ ἄγειν *bring at
a run, bring hastily*, Heb. הֵרִיץ;[68] εἰς θάνατον ἀχθῆναι *be led to
death* = נֶגַע לָמֶוֶת[69] *be stricken unto death*, for the difficult Maso-
retic reading נֶגַע לָמוֹ; ἐπὶ πέρας ἄγειν *bring to an end*, Heb.
כִּלָּה בַכֹּל[70] *make an end with everything*; ἐπὶ τέλος ἄγειν *bring
to an end*, Heb. עָשָׂה הַכֹּל;[71] ἄγειν μάρτυρας *bring witnesses*, Heb.
נָתַן עֵדִים.[71a]

In a special sense our Greek verb means *keep*, hence with the
object *a holiday: celebrate, observe*, Heb. עָשָׂה,[72] and the phrases:
παρρησίαν ἄγειν = παρρησιάζεσθαι *speak openly*, Heb. נָתַן קוֹלוֹ[73]
prop. *bring forth* (EV. *utter*) *one's voice, speak aloud*; ἡσυχίαν
ἄγειν = ἡσυχάζειν *keep silence, keep still*, Heb. הֶחֱרִישׁ.[74]

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[60] Is. 43:6; comp. the second half of the verse.

[61] S^h ܐܢܐ ܘܼ ， ℭ ΚΝΑΕΙΝΕ. Or does it mean *carry off*, comp. SOPH., *Antig.* 343
φῦλον ὀρνίθων ἀμφιβαλὼν ἄγει?

[62] Jb. 40:21(25).

[63] Comp. מָשַׁךְ בָּרָשֶׁת Ps. 10:9 and מֶשֶׁךְ חָכְמָה מִפְּנִינִים Jb. 28:18.

[64] Am. 7:17 sq. ἀπό מֵעַל.

[65] Is. 23:1; comp. in the same sense ib. 38:12; but ܐܬܓܠܝ S^h MIDDELDORPF; contrast
FIELD.

[66] Is. 46:2; Ez. 30:18.        [67] Si. 30:24.

[68] Ge. 41:14 Σ (acc. to Mjv).

[69] Is. 53:8 (var. ἦκε). It is possible that the translator may have combined נֶגַע with
הִגִּיעַ *reach* sq. לְ as Jb. 20:6.

[70] I Es. 9:17=Ezr. 10:17.

[71] I Ch. 29:19 certainly A. 44. 74. 106. 120. 134. 144. 236; καὶ τοῦ οἰκοδομῆσαι (-μεῖν) וְלִבְנוֹת
> rell; τὴν κατασκευὴν τοῦ οἴκου σου / הַבַּיִת אֲשֶׁר הֲכִינוֹתִי, A + ἣν ἡτοίμασα.—In Pr. 13:12
εἰς ἐλπίδα ἄγειν means *lead to* (vain) *hope*; the first half of the verse is translated with
extreme freedom.

[71a] Is. 43:9.

[72] I Es. 1:1 = II Ch. 35:1; 22 = 19; 5:51 = Ezr. 3:4; 7:10 = 6:19; 14 = 22; Est. 9:17, 18, 19,
21, 28; with the var. ποιεῖν (literal rendering): I Es. 1:17 = II Ch. 35:16; 19 = 21 = 18;
Est. 9:22; with the var. γίγνεσθαι (for the passive) I Es. 1:20 = II Ch. 35:18.

[73] Pr. 1:20.        [74] Pr. 11:12.

ἄγε, Lat. *age, come! come on! well!* corresponds to Heb. הוֹאֶל[75] *be willing.*

So much for the simplex which here and there comes near encroaching upon the domain of its compounds. The converse is equally true. But in the main, especially when the proportionate frequency is had in mind, the compounds have their well-defined equivalent serving to bring out the idea underlying the Greek preverb. Thus ἀνάγειν *lead* or *bring up*, that is from a lower to a higher place, corresponds to Hebrew הֶעֱלָה,[76] prop. *cause to go up*, following it even in its derivative significations, as with the objects גֵּרָה[77] (*the cud*, we say: *chew*), אֲרֻכָה[78] (prop. new flesh on a wound, ἴαμα *healing, health;* EV. *restore*), עֹלוֹת[79] (*burnt-offerings*, hence *offer*), or when followed by לְמַס[80] (*for tribute*, εἰς φόρον, the English Versions paraphrase). Over against the 51 times in which ἀνάγειν represents הֶעֱלָה, the five instances in which this compound stands for less obvious verbs may be ignored in pronouncing the preverb ἀν- to correspond to the Hebrew root עָלָה. For, upon examining those instances closely, there will be found present in the context or in the mind of the translator an element of this very root. Thus וַהֲבִאוֹתִיךָ עַל־אַרְצִי[81] *and I will bring thee* (Gog) *against My land* is preceded by וְעָלִיתָ עַל־עַמִּי *and thou shalt come up against My people.* When we remember the frequent occurrence of the phrase הֶעֱלָה יְהוָה אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל מִמִּצְרַיִם[82] *the Lord brought Israel up out of Egypt*, the translator may be pardoned when, by force of association, he mentally substitutes in two instances[83] הֶעֱלָה *brought up* for הוֹצִיא *brought out* which his text most probably had in conformity to the received Hebrew text. Had he chosen to adhere closely to the word before him, he would have rendered ἐξ- instead of ἀν-. Egypt being situated lower

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[75] Jd. 19:6 (but ἀρξάμενος AM. al., comp. Sifre on De. 1:5 אֵין הוֹאָלָה אֶלָּאה הַתְחָלָה with this very passage as example; ἐπιεικῶς ἀ. 76. 106).

[76] Total 51 times, including IV Ki. 17:36 19. 82. Compl. Note III Ki. 18:44 (מַעֲלָה עָלָה מַיִם/מָיִם) and I Ch. 13:6 (καὶ ἀνήγαγεν αὐτήν = וַיַּעַל as *Hiphil* with object supplied; Λ καὶ ἀνέβη correctly = וַיַּעַל as *Kal*).

[77] Le. 11:4, 4, 5; De. 14:6, 7, 7; Al. Le. 11:26.

[78] Je. 30(37):17 ʼΑΣ.

[79] II Ki. 6:17; III Ki. 3:15.

[80] III Ki. 10:24 (9:21): II Ch. 8:8.

[81] Ez. 38:16.

[82] Le. 11:45 + 15 t.

[83] II Ch. 6:5; Je. 11:4.

than Palestine, the Hebrew naturally says: *I came up*, or *I brought up, from Egypt* (to Palestine). But he may just as well, disregarding the distinction as to elevation, say simply: *I came*, or *I brought, from Egypt:* בָּאתִי, הֲבֵאתִי מִמִּצְרָיִם, in which case the translator may choose to be more exact than the original. Hence, with a corrupt text before him, וַיְבִיאֵהוּ מִמִּצְרַיִם for our וַיְבִיאֵהוּ מִצְרִיְמָה,[84] he might have written simply ἤγαγεν, but he chose ἀνήγαγεν, *he brought up*. The phrase גֵּרָה בֵּרָר[85] is rightly identified with the more frequent גֵרָה הֶעֱלָה and translated accordingly.

The preverb ἀν- may be strengthened by the prefix ἐπ-, ἐπαν-άγειν, without an appreciable difference in the meaning; the Hebrew is again הֶעֱלָה. Thus in the place of מֵעֲלֵיהֶם[86] *out of themselves*, the translator read וְהַמַּעֲלִים; hence his καὶ ἐπαναγόν-των *and bring up*.

The antithesis to ἀνάγειν הֶעֱלָה is κατάγειν הוֹרִיד;[87] that is to say, just as the preverb ἀν- corresponds to the root עלה, κατ-represents ירד. The total number of instances is 51.[88] ‖ πόλεις ὀχυρὰς καταβαλεῖς καὶ κατάξεις[89] ἕως (τοῦ) ἐδάφους, *the strong cities Thou wilt overthrow and bring down unto the ground*, is certainly a considerably abbreviated rendering of קִרְיָה נִשְׂגָּבָה יַשְׁפִּילֶנָּה יַשְׁפִּילָהּ יַגִּיעֶנָּה עַד־אֶרֶץ עַד־עָפָר,[90] κατάγειν is of course an apt equivalent of הִשְׁפִּיל *lay low*, the preverb κατ- correspond-ing to the root שׁפל; whereas if it were meant to stand for הִגִּיעַ prop. *cause to reach*, the determining element which represents the preverb lies in the complement עַד־עָפָר, הִגִּיעַ being a *vox media;*[91] but in point of fact κατάγειν = הִשְׁפִּיל + הִגִּיעַ. ‖ The phrase ταπεινώσας κατήγαγες in the same passage is an amplified transla-tion of הֵשַׁח (EV. hath *brought down*). καὶ εἰς χοῦν θανάτου

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[84] I Es. 1:38 = II Ch. 36:4.

[85] Le. 11:7 Samar. רָגָר = רגור. רָגַז גַּם בֵּרָר.            [86] Za. 4:12.

[87] Comp. I Ki. 2:6 κατάγει εἰς ᾅδου καὶ ἀνάγει מוֹרִיד שְׁאוֹל וַיָּעַל.

[88] Included are Ps. 48(49):15 Θ (יֹרִדוּ/יְרָדוּ); Si. 32(35):15 (מרודיה/מורידה); La. 1:13 (וַיִּרְדֶּנָּה/וַיִּרְדְּפָנָּה).

[89] +αὐτάς A. al. expressing the Heb. suffix.

[90] Is. 26:5. Observe the accentuation which is disregarded in 𝕲. Comp. for a similar abbreviation ib. 25:12.

[91] Comp. נָגַע אֶל־הַשָּׁמַיִם Je. 51:9.

κατήγαγές με *and Thou hast brought me down into the dust of death* betrays as little as the rendering of EV. *and Thou hast brought me into,* etc. the presence of the uncommon verb שָׁפַת[92] which appears to mean *set,* elsewhere used of a kettle set on the hearth-stone—a good lesson that all our statistics are of little avail when a translator, as it often happens also in the English Versions (so indeed in this very passage), is driven to use a common word for the uncommon Hebrew. ‖ κατάγαγε δάκρυα[93] *cause tears to come down* would appear to be easy of retroversion: הוֹרֵד דִּמְעָה, comp. הוֹרִידִי כַנַּחַל דִּמְעָה,[94] EV. *let tears run down like a river,* where indeed the Greek reads καταγάγετε ὡς χειμάρρους δάκρυα; nevertheless the Hebrew author chose to write הַזֵּב דִּמְעָה *cause tears to flow!* ‖ καὶ κατήγαγον τὸ αἷμα αὐτῶν[95] *and I made their blood to come (run) down* occurs twice within four verses; while in the second instance the phrase represents וָאוֹרִיד נִצְחָם (with the complement לָאָרֶץ εἰς γῆν), the Hebrew in the former reads וְיֵז נִצְחָם, *and their blood is sprinkled* (the complement עַל־בְּגָדַי *upon My garments* is wanting in Greek), where the active construction chosen by the translator for the passive of the original is met with in numerous cases elsewhere, but the Hebrew verb, justified as it is by the context, could not easily be divined in its common Greek garb.

ἀπάγειν means *lead* or *carry away;* its opposite is προσάγειν *bring near.* While the latter has as its Hebrew equivalents הִקְרִיב[96] or קָרַב,[97] and הִגִּישׁ,[98] Aramaic הַקְרֵב,[99] in the intransitive sense (*come near*) קָרַב[100] and נִגַּשׁ,[101] in one instance חָבַר,[102] prop. *be joined,* the former lacks a true equivalent of its own, unless it be הֵשִׁיב,[103] the one that readily suggests itself as the

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[92] Ps. 21(22):15.    [93] Si. 38:16.    [94] La. 2:18.    [95] Is. 63:3, 6.

[96] 78 times, including Le. 16:1 (paraphrastic rendering).

[97] Is. 41:21 Σ.

[98] 21 times, including I Ki. 14:38 (נָשׂוּ/הַגֵּשׁ); II Ki. 3:34 (provided we read with A. al. προσήγαγες = הַגִּשׁוּךָ, pass. pro act.?).

[99] Da. Θ 7:13.

[100] 10 times, including Pr. 24:15 (תֶּאֱרֹב/תִּקְרַב). Ma. 3:5 πρός > A. 49, hence act. pro pass.

[101] Imperf. יִגַּשׁ; 12 times, including I Ki. 13:6 (כִּי נָשׁוּ/מִפְגֹּשׁ); Is. 53:7 Θ (נִגַּשׂ/נָגַשׂ).

[102] Si. 22:14. 253 (sq. dat. אֶל־).

[103] I Ki. 6:7 (sq. ἀπὸ מִן־, lead away).

opposite of הַרְחִיק‎, הִרְחִיק‎ being otherwise rendered. Instead
the Hebrew verbs for which ἀπάγειν is used are such as have
been met with as equivalents of the simplex. These are in the
line of frequency הוֹלִיךְ‎,[104] הוֹבִיל‎,[105] נָהַג‎,[106] הֵבִיא‎.[107] On a closer
examination of the passages, the force of the preverb will be
found to correspond to an element in the context. In the special
sense of *leading off to prison*, ἀπάγειν is a correct translation of
אָסַר‎,[108] prop. *bind* בַּנְחֻשְׁתַּיִם‎ [109] *in fetters*, hence with the comple-
ment understood וַיַּאַסְרֵהוּ בֵית כֶּלֶא‎,[110] prop. (with a pregnant
construction) *and led him off bound to prison*, EV. by way of
simplification and in justice to English idiom *and bound him in
prison*; εἴ τις . . . εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἀπαγάγοι[111] *suppose that
some one were to take you off to prison*, would thus correspond
to Hebrew לוּ יַאַסְרוּךָ בֵית כֶּלֶא‎. But even προσάγειν is found

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[104] III Ki. 1:38 (and took, i. e. conducted, escorted, *him to Gihon*; EV. *and brought him*
indicating the consummated action is as inexact and for a translation which does not aim
at literalness as legitimate as is the rendering of 𝕲 καὶ ἀπήγαγον αὐτόν *and led him forth*;
Λ καὶ ἐπορεύοντο ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ *and went behind him* may be a paraphrastic rendering of 𝔐
וַיֵּלְכוּ אֹתוֹ‎, thus bringing out the exact force of the Hebrew phrase, or else presupposes
וַיֵּלְכוּ אֲחֲרֵי‎) IV Ki. 6:19 (away from the right direction, of Elisha misdirecting the army
of the king of Syria); 17:27 (away from here, viz., Assyria, comp. vs. 23; EV. *carry*, in an
archaic sense = *take*; I believe that the original (Hebrew text) read שָׁמָּה‎(=שמם‎) הלכו
מהכהנים אשר הגליתם משמ'‎ (= משמרון‎) A וילכו וישבו שם וירם‎ (=וירם‎)
The next step was the introduction, through aberration of the eye, of אֹתָה‎ from vs. 28; 𝔐
left וילכו וישבו‎, but pointed וירם‎, whereas Λ permitted himself as a translator to
render וילכו וישבו‎ conformably to אחד‎ and וירם‎ as singulars. The pre-Origenian
𝕲 is based on a text in which הגליתם‎ . . . שמם‎ was omitted through homoioteleuton, and
the translator pointed וירם‎; Origen supplied the lacuna from 'ΑΣΘ = 𝔐. Or the homoio-
teleuton occurred in the Greek codd. antedating Origen); 24.15 (sq. גּוֹלָה מִירוּשָׁלַם‎
*captive from Jerusalem*); I Es. 1:40 = II Ch. 36:6 (sq. to Babylon, as a captive); Pr. 16:29
(away from the good road); Jb. 12:17 'A (שׁוֹלָל‎) is rendered λάφυρα *as spoils*, that is, *captive*).

[105] Ps. 107(108):10 (sq. to a fortified city); Jb. 29:25 Σ (ἀπάγει αὐτοὺς ὁδηγῶν = רְבֻלֵם רְנָחֵם‎
/ אֲבֵלִים רְנָחֵם‎, apparently to battle); Is. 23:7 Θ (sq. πόρρωθεν = מֵרָחוֹק‎) Je. 11:19 'ΑΣ (RV.
*led*, sq. to the slaughter, hence *led away*). Šh renders ἀπάγειν, I believe in most cases, by
ܐ‎.

[106] Ge. 31:26 (EV. *and carried away* sq. as captives); I Ki. 23:5 (EV. *and brought away
their cattle*); 30:20 (away from the rest; so apparently according to the conception of the
translator; he found in his text וַיִּנְהַג‎ or נְהָגוּ‎/רְנָהַג‎); Jb. 24:3 (EV. *they drive away*).

[107] Ge. 42:19; ἀγοράσατε Ea, assimilated to the object; EV. *carry*, obj. corn, that is, carry
away with you, from the speaker's point of view and in conformity with the place in which
the brothers find themselves; the Heb. verb properly denotes the goal: *bring home*;
II Ch. 36:7. 71 (as spoils).

[108] Ge. 39:22 (ἀπηγμένους sive, ἀπαγομένους, varr. καθειργμένους, ἐγκεκλεισμένους, συγκεκλει-
σμένους); 40:3 (ἀπῆκτο var. ἀπῆρκτο; with extreme freedom: κατῴκει I).

[109] II Ki. 25:7.        [110] Ib. 17:4.        [111] PLATO, *Gorg.* 486 A.

to represent Hebrew verbs which in themselves are or might be rendered by the simplex, but which by virtue of the prepositional complement or the object or the general context favor the compound. Thus we find הֵבִיא,[112] לָקַח,[113] הֵשִׁיא,[114] Aramaic הַסֵּק[115] which is = Hebrew הֶעֱלָה; for the Greek passive: נָגַע[116] *touch;* for the Greek active in an intransitive sense: הִגִּיעַ[117] *reach, arrive, come,* סָבַב[118] *turn.*[119] With the preposition πρός אֶל־ or אֵצֶל there properly arise syntactical groups in which the preverb anticipates and strengthens the preposition to which it therefore properly corresponds.

εἰσάγειν *bring in, introduce* and ἐξάγειν *bring out* are employed for the Hebrew הֵבִיא (Aramaic הַ[נְ]עֵל[120]) and הוֹצִיא.[121] The latter, prop. *cause to go out,* requires no comment; the former which has been met with as the equivalent of the simplex[122] and will be found later to correspond to another compound (ἐπάγειν)[123] is an ambiguous verb in Hebrew: it may, as it is here, be tantamount to Aramaic הַ[נְ]עֵל prop. *cause to enter,* whereas it may also correspond to Aramaic הַיְתִי prop. *cause to come.* While thus Aramaic possesses a distinct root for the former signification,[124] Hebrew is forced to make shift with its הֵבִיא in both senses, the exact meaning depending upon the complement. Thus we obtain the following groups:

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[112] Ex. 19:4 (sq. πρός אֶל־); Le. 14:2 (do.); 19:21 (sq. παρά אֶל־, obj. a sacrificial animal); Nu. 6:12 (obj. do.); I Ki. 1:25 (וַתָּבֵא A. 70. 90. 242. 247, וַתָּבֹא rell. hence the Greek verb in an intrans. sense, / וַיְבָאֻ).

[113] Ge. 48:9 (sq. dat. אֶל־).

[114] II Ki. 17:13 (A, sq. ἐπί c. accus. אֶל־; B. rell. λαμβάνειν sq. πρός; Kittel " וְהֵבִיאֻ vel רְשֹׁמֻ" uncalled for, comp. Le. 22:16).

[115] Da. 𝔊 3:22.

[116] Da. 𝔊 10:10 (sq. dat. בְּ).

[117] Da. 𝔊 8:7 (sq. πρός אֵצֶל).        [118] I Ki. 22:17.

[119] Ps. 71(72):10a προσαξουσιν א*. 144. 165. 118. 201 was probably carried over from the second half of the verse.—Si. 14:11 προσφορὰς Κορίῳ ἀξίως (> 𝔖h 106) πρόσαγε is a free rendering of the mispointed Hebrew וּלְאֵל יָדְךָ הַדְּשֵׁן or הַדְּשֵׁן הַשְׁמֵן/וְלָאֵל יָדְךָ הַדְּשֵׁן.

[120] Da. 𝔊 2:24, 25; Θ 5:7; 𝔊Θ 5:13.

[121] 176 times, including Ge. 1:12  iᵃr; II Es. 10:19 A.

[122] See above p. 38.        [123] See below p. 48.

[124] Comp. Hebrew וְעֹלַלְתִּי בֶעָפָר קַרְנִי Jb. 16:15.

εἰσάγειν εἰς τόπον,    *bring into* a place,    [126] הָ–+, [125] אֶל–+ הֵבִיא

" " [128] בְּ+, [127] accus.+

|   |   |   |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| " | ἔνδον εἰς τόπον, | " | " | *the midst of* a place, | [129] אֶל־תּוֹךְ+ " |
| " | ἐπὶ τόπον, | " | | *(in) to* a place, | [130] אֶל–+ " |
| " | ἐν τόπῳ, | " | | *into* " , | [131] בְּ+ " |
| " | ἐντός τόπου, | " | | *(in) within* a place, | [132] בְּ+ " |
| " | τόπῳ, | " | | *into* a place, | [133] בְּ+ " |
| " | ὧδε; ἐκεῖ, | " | | *in hither; thither,* | [135] שָׁמָּה; [134] הֵנָּה+ " |
| " | ἔν τινι, | " | | *into* a thing, | [136] בְּ+ " |
| " | ὑπό τι, | " | | *under* " | [137] בְּ+ " |

Elsewhere εἰσάγειν is a particularly apt rendering of הֵבִיא because in combination with its opposite הוֹצִיא or an equivalent thereof,[138] or else by virtue of a point in the context.[139] In a number of instances the complement denotes the person *to* whom one is *brought in;*[140] it may, however, be introduced at a later

[125] 50 times. Note Nu. 14:13, where εἰς τὴν γῆν > 𝔐; Est. 3:9 אֵc. a. mg; Za. 10:10 εἰς sec, by supplying אֶל– before לִבְנוֹן from the preceding phrase.

[126] 11 times, including Ge. 43:24 'A (ܠ).

[127] 8 times, including Ca. 1:4 Σ (ܠ); on IV Ki. 11:4 'A see FIELD.

[128] 5 times; Ex. 27:7, 76 has dat. in the place of εἰς c. accus.

[129] De. 21:12.    [130] Ez. 8:7, 14.    [131] Ps. 65(66):11 'A.    [132] Ps. 65 (66):11 Σ.

[133] La. 3:13 (var. ἐν c. dat.).

[134] II Ch. 28:13 (i. e. into Samaria).

[135] Ez. 40:3 (i. e. into the land of Israel).    [126] Ez. 17:13 (into an oath).

[137] Je. 34 (27):11, 12 Q mg. (under the yoke).

[138] As in the phrase הַמּוֹצִיא וְהַמֵּבִיא, אֲשֶׁר יוֹצִיאֵם וַאֲשֶׁר יְבִיאֵם (Nu. 27:17; II Ki. 5:2; I Ch. 11:2), or as in the passage וְאֹתָנוּ הוֹצִיא מִשָּׁם לְמַעַן הָבִיא אֹתָנוּ (De. 6:23); Jd. 12:9 εἰσάγειν ἔξωθεν הֵבִיא מִן־הַחוּץ is contrasted with ἐξαποστέλλειν ἔξω שִׁלַּח הַחוּצָה.

[139] De. 4:38 (EV. *bring thee in,* + to give thee their land); 9:4 (EV. *hath brought me in,* + to possess this land); II Ki. 6:17 44 (sq. וַיְרַצְּנוּ אֹתוֹ בִּמְקוֹמוֹ . . . εἰς τὸν τόπον); II Ch. 29:4 (EV. *he brought in,* + and gathered them together into the broad place on the east; comp. the commentaries *ad loc.* which compare Ezr. 10:9); Za. 8:8 (+ and make [them] dwell [so 𝔊; 𝔐 and they shall dwell] in the midst of Jerusalem); Is. 60:11 (preceded by: thy gates shall be open); Ez. 42:1 (preceded by: καὶ εἰσήγαγέν με [𝔐 וַיְבִיאֵנִי] εἰς τὴν αὐλήν); 44:4 (apparently into the inner court, 𝔗 וְאַעֲלִנִי), 7 (AV. *ye have brought* into My sanctuary, RV. *ye have brought in* thus obviating the italicized element,+ to be in My sanctuary); Da. Θ 1:3 (comp. verse 4; to minister in the king's palace).

[140] πρός אֶל– :· I Ki. 19:7; 21:14(15); III Ki. 7:14; Je. 44(37):14; ἐπὶ אֶל–: De. 33:7 Σ; πρός לְ: Ex. 2:10 (in Ge. 39:17 the *dat. incommodi* is thus inadequately rendered); πρός עַל– (misconceived): I Ki. 21:15(16); ἐναντίον, ἐνώπιον, πρός לִפְנֵי: Da. Θ 1:18; I Ki. 17:57; Da. 𝔊 1:18.

stage of the context.[141]  There does not appear to be anything to
make this particular compound necessary, although the choice
thereof in no wise militates against the context.   The sum total
of instances in which εἰσάγειν stands for הֵבִיא is 112.[142]   Never-
theless, we find it, followed by the complement εἰς τόπον אֶל־, לְ,
or accus., once for לָקַח [143] take, once for הִגִּישׁ [144] bring near, and
once for נָהַג [145] lead (away), the first and the last properly cor-
responding to the simplex, so that εἰσάγειν εἰς is nothing but a
stronger ἄγειν εἰς; the middle verb is the proper equivalent of
προσάγειν which is thus set aside with some freedom.   Still freer
is the use of εἰσάγειν, followed by εἰς μέσον τόπου into the midst
of a place, אֶל־תּוֹךְ, for הִטָּה,[146] prop. cause to incline or turn; the
Greek translation appears to be influenced by a parallel passage[147]
in which the Hebrew has הֵבִיא.

Over against the 176 instances with ἐξάγειν for הוֹצִיא, we
find the same Greek compound sporadically for פִּלֵּט [148] deliver,
which appears elsewhere in parallelism to הוֹצִיא;[149] הֵרִיץ [150] bring
forth hastily, the adverbial circumstance being ignored in the
translation; שִׁלַּח [151] send forth; לָקַח [152] take; הֶעֱלָה [153] bring up;
הֶעֱבִיר,[154] prop. transfer, the element of change being left untrans-
lated, EV. with equal freedom: took him out, have me away.[155]
Hebrew הַדְשִׁיא דֶשֶׁא [156] is an idiomatic phrase for the parallel
הוֹצִיא דֶשֶׁא;[157] the Greek translator, exactly as the AV. does,

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[141] Ge. 47:7 (ἐνώπιον (לִפְנֵי); Da. Ϭ 1:18 (πρός (לִפְנֵי).

[142] Add IV Ki. 11:19 Λ (בֵּרת ;וַיָּבֹאוּ/וַיָּבִאוּ; οἴκου due to misconception, 𝔙 in c.
accus.); Ez. 20:37 (sq. ἐν ἀριθμῷ (בְּמָסֹרֶת); 27:15 (καὶ τοῖς εἰσαγομένοις/וְהָרֻבְנִים; it is evi-
dent that Ϭ read a form of the root בּוֹא, perhaps וְלַבָּאִים).

[143] Ge. 7:2.        [144] Si. 45:5.        [145] De. 4:27.        [146] Si. 48:17.        [147] IV Ki. 20:20.

[148] Jb. 23:7; Ϭ apparently read מִשְׁפָּטֵי, so 8 MSS. 𝔖𝔙, poss. also וַיְפַלֵּט.

[149] Comp. Ps. 18:49 = II Sa. 22:49.

[150] Ge. 41:14 (sq. ἐκ מִן־).

[151] III Ki. 21(20):42 (sq. ἐκ מִן־; var. ἐξαποστέλλειν literal; comp. conversely ἐξαποστέλ-
λειν/הוֹצִיא; Ex. 6:13 Bfioqru).

[152] Ex. 14:11 (sc. ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, assimilated to the verb in the second half of the verse).

[153] Sq. ἐκ מִן־: Ex. 3:8; 32:1, 23; Nu. 21:5; Ne. 9:18. By association with הוֹצִיא.

[154] II Ch. 35:24 (sq. ἀπό מִן־), 23 (with the complement understood).

[155] Similarly BDB.; but Siegfr.-Stade correctly: überführen.

[156] Ge. 1:11 Σ.                    [157] Ib. 12.

renders the first by analogy of the second: *bring forth* grass, whereas RV. by way of differentiation employs in the first instance: *put forth.* שָׁרַץ שֶׁרֶץ [158] prop. *swarm with a swarm,* is rather inadequately rendered ἐξάγειν ἑρπετά, *bring forth creeping things.* A euphemistic intent underlies the rendering ἐξάγειν for וְהִתְעָה, [159] EV. *cause to wander.* The phrase ἐξάγειν (ἐκ) τοῦ ζῆν, τοῦ βίου prop. *lead out of life* (in Polybius and Plutarch), signifies *put to death;* hence (with the complement understood) for Aramaic קְטַל [160] *kill, slay,* and הוֹבֵד. [161] *cause to perish.*

διεξάγειν *lead forth completely* is found (in the passive, for יָצָא [162] *come forth* which requires little explanation; while the second preverb corresponds to the root, the first is suggested by the complement εἰς τέλος לָנֶצַח of which δι- is but a pleonastic anticipation. An exceedingly free rendering is ἐν πραΰτητι τὰ ἔργα σου διέξαγε *bring thy business to an end,* i. e. *manage, conduct thy business,*[163] for בְּמַעֲשֶׂיךָ הִתְהַלֵּךְ בַּעֲנָוָה [164] *in thy work walk about* (= conduct thyself) *in humility.* ‖ προεξάγειν *bring* or *put out beforehand, first,* occurs for נָתַן [165] (with the object יָד *a hand*); the first preverb corresponds to the general context.

ἐπάγειν means *bring on;* its Hebrew equivalent is הֵבִיא in 59 instances. As הֵבִיא is an ambiguous verb,[166] it is in place to add that as an equivalent of ἐπάγειν it is differentiated on the one hand from הֵבִיא = Aramaic הַ[נְ]עֵל = εἰσάγειν, and on the other, though in the sense of Aramaic הַיְתִי, from הֵבִיא with following אֶל־ and its alternates = ἄγειν εἰς τόπον or πρός τινα.[167] The proper complement to ἐπάγειν הֵבִיא is ἐπί τινα or τι, *upon a person or thing,* עַל־.[168] So in the majority of cases. We find also

| ἐπάγειν τινί, | *bring upon* a person, | הֵבִיא עַל־ + [169] |
| " ἐπὶ τόπον, | " " a place, | ב + [170] " |
| " τινί εἰς (καρδίαν), | " *upon* a person *into* (the heart), | ב + [171] " |

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[158] Ge. 1:20, 21.

[159] Ib. 20:13 (sq. ἐξ מִן ; sbj. God).

[160] Da. ₵ 2:14.

[161] Ib. ₵ 2:12.

[162] Ha. 1:4.

[163] In the same sense Polybius I 9:6 a. e.

[164] As the translator read for בְּעָשְׁרָה.

[165] Ge. 38:28 14. 16. 130.

[166] See above, p. 47.

[167] See above, p. 38.

[168] 51 times. III Ki. 20(21):29 sec. ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ A = מֵ > B; Hos. 13:15 ₵ read עָלָה (= עָלָיו) for עָלָה.

[169] Jb. 42:11.

[170] Ex. 10:4.

[171] Le. 26:36 (ἐν c; the dat. expresses the preceding *casus pendens*).

The complement may, of course, be implied in the context;[172] but the compound may be used absolutely in the sense *bring on* (object *evil*,[173] *calamity*,[174] *the day* of reckoning[175]), *bring to pass*.[176]

But just as הֵבִיא as an equivalent of ἐπάγειν depends largely on the complement, so it is with the following verbs: הֶעֱבִיר *cause to pass* (ἐπί τι or τόπον *over* a thing or place, Hebrew עַל־[177] or בְּ[178] taken in the sense of עַל־), הֶעֱלָה prop. *cause to come up* (ἐπί τινα *upon* a person, Heb. עַל־[179]), שִׂים or שִׁית *lay, put* (τινί בְּ,[180] ἐπί τινα *upon* a person בְּ[181] or עַל־[182]); somewhat freely: נָשָׂא *lift, swing* (מַטֶּה a *staff*, weakened by the translator to πληγή a *stroke*, ἐπί τινα *upon* a person עַל־[183]), *carry* (a *nation*, EV. *bring*, ἐπί τινα *upon* a person עַל־[184]), *load* (obj. *iniquity*, the Greek middle followed by ἐφ'[185] ἑαυτούς *upon themselves*, EV. *bear iniquity*[186]), הֵשִׁיב *turn* (either = *bring back*,[187] the element of return being ignored by the translator; or idiomatically with the object *hand*,[188] where the idea of return is really inappropriate; the complement in all cases is ἐπί τινα *upon* a person עַל־), הִטָּה, נָטָה, *stretch out* (obj. *a hand, a line,* ἐπί τινα[189] *upon* a person, ἐπί τινος *upon* a thing עַל־[190]), שִׁלַּח *send* (object *a pestilence*,[191] ἐπὶ τόπον *upon* a place עַל־[192]), קָרָא *proclaim* (object *a drought*, ἐπὶ τόπον *upon* a place עַל־[193]).

ἐπάγειν, with some such object as *calamity*[194] understood, is found as a rendering of הוֹגָה[195] *afflict*. With the complement

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[172] III Ki. 20 (21) : 29 pr.                [173] Je. 4 : 6.

[174] Je. 49 : 32 (30 : 10) 'ΑΣ.      [175] La. 1 : 21.      [176] I Ch. 4 : 10.

[177] Ge. 8 : 1; Ez. 5 : 1; Is. 54 : 9 Θ.           [178] Ez. 14 : 15.

[179] De. 28 : 61; EV. *bring*. In absolute use: Ha. 3 : 16 AL. (act. pro pass., or לְעֲלוֹת = לְהַעֲלוֹת, sc. צָרָה).

[180] Ex. 15 : 26; EV. *put*.                [181] Ez. 39 : 21; EV. *laid*.

[182] Ex. 15 : 26 (AV. *brought*, RV. *put*); Is. 15 : 9 (EV. *bring*; Dimon personified).

[183] Is. 10 : 24.    [184] De. 28 : 49.    [185] Var. πρός.    [186] Ex. 28 : 39 (43).    [187] Ex. 15 : 19.

[188] Am. 1 : 8; Za. 13 : 7 (var. ἐπιστρέφειν); Is. 1 : 25.

[189] Is. 31 : 3 ἐπ' αὐτούς > יַד.             [190] Ib. 38 : 5.

[191] Assimilated to verse 15; so A. 26, (ἐπ)αποστέλλειν rell.

[192] Ez. 14 : 19 acc. to the reading of the Orientals.           [193] Hag. 1 : 11.

[194] Comp. ἐπαγωγή אָרֵד Pr. 27 : 10 Θ, נֶגַע Si. 10 : 13, מַכָּה ib. 3 : 28.

[195] La. 1 : 5 Σ (who appears to have read הוֹגָה for הוֹגָהּ, comp. αὐτήν sub ÷ in 𝕲, and 3 : 32 where Σ again has ܐܠܨ).

ἐπί τινα or τι *upon* a person or a thing, the compound with equal freedom stands for פָּקַד *visit* (the Greek object corresponding to the Hebrew object *sin, iniquity*,[196] or to the Hebrew instrument introduced by בְ *with*,[197] or else the object may be wanting entirely[198]). Equally free is ἐπάγειν τινι for גָּמַל [199] *deal out to* and פָּעַל לְ *do to*.[200]

With certain objects (phrases): ἐπάγειν ὀργήν *bring on wrath*, Hebrew זָעַם [201] *be indignant*, שָׁפַךְ חֵמָה [202] *pour out fury*, פָּקַד עָוֹן [203] *visit iniquity;* hence with the object understood,[204] followed by τινί or ἐπί τινα = Hebrew אָנַף בְ [205] *be angry against.*[206] ‖ ἐπάγειν λιμόν *bring on famine*, Heb. שָׁבַר מַטֵּה לֶחֶם [207] *break the staff of bread;* ἐπάγειν ὑετόν *bring on rain*, Heb. הִמְטִיר [208] *cause it to rain.*

ἐπάγεσθαι (middle) means in a special sense *bring over to oneself, win over, induce*, and is appropriately used for Heb. הִשִּׁיא [209] *beguile.*

ὑπεράγειν, prop. *march above*, hence *surpass, excel*, has for its equivalent Héb. גָּבַר [210] *be strong or mighty, prevail;* the complement is ὑπέρ τι *above* a thing עַל. The preverb corresponds to the root גבר *strengthened* by the complement.

διάγειν means primarily *lead* or *carry through* from one side to the other, מֵעֵבֶר לְעֵבֶר; its Hebrew equivalent is naturally הֶעֱבִיר *cause to pass (through)*; the medium is introduced by

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196 Ex. 32:34; 34:7 (ἐπαν- e).

197 Is. 24:21 (τὴν χεῖρα apparently בִּמְרוֹם/בְּיָדוֹ)

198 Is. 10:12; 15:7 (וּפְקֻדָּתָם/וּפְקַדְתִּי).

199 Is. 63:7 (sc. ἀγαθά).    200 Ib. 22:17.    201 Ps. 7:11.    202 Is. 42:25.    203 Is. 26:21.

204 Comp. ἐπαγωγή עֶבְרָה Si. 5:8.

205 III Ki. 8:46 (where καὶ επαξεις αυτους B = Sixt. 92. 120. 158. 247 is faulty for καὶ ἐπάξεις ἐπ' αὐτούς 44. 52. 55. 64. 71. 74. 106. 119. 123. 134. 144. 236. 242–246. Ald. Cat. Nic. 𝔄 1 ed. 𝕰 comp. 121 and Λ; A καὶ ἐπαρεῖς (sc. θυμόν) expresses the same sense; II Ch. 6:36 (read καὶ ἐπάξεις αὐτοῖς/ καὶ παταξεις αυτους BA. Sixt. omn., with the exception of Λ: καὶ ἐὰν θυμωθῇς ἐπ'αὐτούς. Comp. similar corruptions: Le. 26:25 παταξω e /ἐπάξω; IV Ki. 6:19 do, 243 /ἐπ (sive απ-)άξω AN. al.; Je. 22:7 do. 106 /ἐπ (sive ἀν-, sive εἰς-)άξω; ib. 25:13 do. A /ἐπαξω; and conversely Ez. 22:13 επαξω B. 42 /παταξω).

206 Similarly חָטַם לְ (Is. 48:9) which is preverted by the translator into the very opposite of its signification, just as in the same verse הַאֲרִיךְ אַף is totally misconceived.

207 Si. 48:2.                    208 Ge. 7:4.

209 Ge. 3:14(13) 'A.—Ps. 54(55):16 'A ἐπάξει θάνατον ἐπ' αὐτούς apparently= יַשִּׁי מָוֶת עָלֵימוֹ (יַשִּׁיא רגו 𝔐 acc. to the ḳere), comp. 𝔊 ἐλθέτω Σ ἐπέλθοι, both pass. pro act.

210 Si. 36:27(24).

the preposition ἐν בְּ [211] *through;* but the complement may be implied in the context.[212] Less obvious, because properly corresponding to the simplex, are הוֹלִיךְ with following ἐν τινι בְּ [213] and הֵבִיא with following διά τινος בְּ.[214] The force of the preverb is not quite clear in διάγειν[215] αἰχμαλώτους הוֹלִיךְ שׁוֹלָל [216] *lead (away*[217]*) captive,* or in another translator's[218] rendering of the same Hebrew phrase, διάγειν εἰς ἀβουλίαν *lead into thoughtlessness, want of reason.*[219]

But the preverb δι- has also the secondary force of separation, Latin *dis-;* hence διάγειν, *separate, force apart*[220] for Hebrew פָּשֵׂק [221] prop. *cut, cleave open.*[222]

προάγειν τινά means *go before* a person as leader or guide; hence προάγοντά σε for לְפָנֶיךָ [223] *before thee.* The preverb thus fully corresponds to לְפָנֵי *before.* προαχθῆναι πρὸς τὸν ἰσχυρὸν ἐν κρίματι *to be led forward,* i. e. *to advance, toward the Mighty One in judgment* covers לַהֲלֹךְ אֶל־אֵל בַּמִּשְׁפָּט [224] RV. . . . *go before God in judgment;* but apparently the force of the preverb rests with the Greek phrase alone. ὅτι προήχθη *because he had been promoted* is an exceedingly free rendering of יוֹשֵׁב בְּשַׁעַר הַמֶּלֶךְ [225] *sat in the king's gate.*

παράγειν means *lead by, past, beside,* hence also *away.* The

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[211] IV Ki. 16:3 (ἐν A > B); 17:17; 21:6; 23:10; II Ch. 33:6; De. 18:10 'ΑΣΘ (the complement not recorded, but comp. 𝔐.)—Ez. 23:37 δι' ἐμπυρῶν free / לְאָכְלָה .

[212] Ps. 77(78):13 (sc. the sea); Je. 32(39):35 'ΑΣ and Ez. 20:26 Θ, where EV. adds *the fire.*

[213] Ps. 135 (136):16.　　　[214] Za. 13:9.

[215] 𝔏 *ducere,* Sh [Syriac], ℭ ᾗσσον, and 𝔅 ωλι fail to bring out the force of the preverb.

[216] Jb. 12:19.　　　[217] So 'A (above note 104).　　　[218] Σ.

[219] Comp. Rashi שְׁטוּת הוּא דָּבָר שֵׁם, Ibn Ezra מִדַּעַת שׁוֹלָל; similarly Rashi on Mi. 1:8 בְּתִמְהוֹן כַּשׁוֹטֶה מִשְׁתַּגֵּעַ; he compares Ps. 76:6 (where ℭ = 𝔖 ἐταράχθησαν) and Is. 59:15 (where ℭ comp. 𝔖 τοῦ συνιέναι).

[220] LIDDELL-SCOTT quotes an example with the obj. τοὺς ὀδόντας.

[221] Ez. 16:25.

[222] Si. 38:27 ὅστις νύκτωρ ὡς ἡμέρα (B. 55. 307. 308 ἡμέραν 248 𝔏 ἡμέρας ℵ A. rell.; the latter, of course, is genitive) διάγει RV. correctly *that passeth his time by night as by day;* 𝔐 לַיְלָה אֲשֶׁר, then follows a lacuna, but the margin has the verb רִנְהָג (sc. בָּ, comp. usage in later Hebrew). ℭ διάγει may have been chosen through suggestion of the Heb. רנהג (so SMEND). But the Greek verb being employed in a specific Greek sense, it may have corresponded to some other Hebrew verb as well (comp. SMEND), and the identification must remain uncertain.

[223] Ex. 23:20 Σ. προῆγεν αὐτούς Mat. 2:9 is rendered by DELITZSCH דֶּרֶךְ לִפְנֵיהֶם .
[224] Jb. 34:23 Θ.　　　[225] Est. 2:21.

principal Hebrew equivalent is הֶעֱבִיר (עָבַר, intransitively עָבַר) which, when followed by the proper complement, has the same significations as the Greek compound. Thus, while διάγειν with following ἐν corresponds to הֶעֱבִיר בְּ, the following set of groups is obtained with the present compound:

| παράγειν ἐνώπιον τινος, | lead past and set before a person, | [226] הֶעֱבִיר+לִפְנֵי |
| " ἀνὰ χεῖρα τινος, | pass by the side of a person, | [227] עָבַר+עַל־יַד |
| " ὑπό τι, | cause to pass under a thing (a yoke), | [228] הֶעֱבִיר+תַּחַת |
| " ἀπό τινος, | cause to pass away from a person, | [229] " + מֵעַל |

But the complement may easily be supplied from the context,[230] or no complement is required, the use of the verb being absolute.[231] But παράγειν means also *lead aside*, hence Hebrew הִטָּה [232] *cause to incline* (EV. *take aside*, followed by *into the midst of the gate*) and הֵסִיר [233] *remove*. So also for Hebrew הֵבִיא.[234]

περιάγειν *lead* or *bring round* corresponds to Hebrew סָבַב [235] prop. *cause to go around*, הֵסֵב [236] *lead round, turn*, שׁוֹבֵב [237] *lead round* and therefore *back, lead hither and thither*. While in the first two examples the preverb corresponds to the Hebrew root סבב, it is covered in the last instance by the *Intensive*. In the case of הֶעֱבִיר [238] and הוֹלִיךְ [239] the complement or the context brings out the force of the Greek preverb.

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[226] I Ki. 16:10.    [227] II Ki. 15:18.    [228] Ez. 20:37.

[229] Je. 11:15 'A (act. pro. pass., comp. $\mathcal{S}$ʰ).

[230] Ne. 2:7 (sc. עַל־פְּנֵיהֶם or לִפְנֵיהֶם with their aid); Ez. 20:31 'AΣ (sc. before Molech).

[231] (a) *cause to pass by:* Je. 46(26):17 'A (obj. time); I Ki. 20:36 (obj. an arrow); intransitively *pass by:* Ps. 128(129):8 (EV. *go by*); Is. 60:15 ⊖ (EV. *pass through*); Za. 9:8 Σ (apparently מֵעֹבֵר/מֵעָבַר); (b) *cause to pass away, take away, put away:* Je. 15:14 Σ (who read וְהַעֲבַרְתִּי/וְהַעֲבַרְתִּיךָ; comp. 17:10 where Σ read וְהַעֲבַדְתִּיךָ with 𝔐); intransitively *pass away:* Ps. 143(144):4.—In Ge. 8:1 'AΣ and Is. 54:9 'A the sense is rather *cause to pass over* with fllg. עַל.—In III Ki. 6:20(21) עָבַר is followed by ἐν בְּ (. . . אֶרֶץ בַּרְתִּיקוֹת A. 243 ᵐᵍ $\mathcal{S}$ʰ sub *): *cause to pass through.*

[232] II Ki. 3:27.    [233] II Ki. 6:10 Σ.

[234] I Es. 5:55 = Ezr. 3:7 (EV. *bring*, obj. *cedar-trees, from the Lebanon*).

[235] II Ki. 14:20 Σ.

[236] Ez. 47:2; pass. הוּסַב Is. 28:27, סָבַב Ec. 2:20 Σ.

[237] Ez. 38:4 Compl.; Ps. 59(60):3.

[238] Ez. 46:21 (sq. *by the four corners*).

[239] Am. 2:10 (sq. *in the wilderness*, i. e. aimlessly).

In μετάγειν the preverb corresponds to German *um-;* hence the compound denotes *convey from one place to another, transfer*, Hebrew שָׁבָה [239a] prop. *lead away into captivity* which, of course, is not an exact equivalent. Still more dependent upon the complement or context are הֵבִיא,[240] הוֹצִיא[241] and הֶעֱלָה[242] — all three in I Esdras. In the sense *change, alter*, הֶנִיא[243] *frustrate*.[244] Intransitively, the Greek compound is the exact counterpart to Hebrew הֶעְתִּיק[245] *remove*.

συνάγειν *bring together, gather together, assemble, collect* has for its equivalents the following Hebrew synonyms: אָסַף,[246] אָסַם,[247] סָפָה[248] in the sense of אָסַף; קָבַץ,[249] קִבֵּץ,[250] כָּנַס,[251] לָקַט,[256] לִקֵּט[257] prop. *heap up;* הִקְהִיל;[254] צָבַר[255] ; כָּמַס[253] ; כָּנֵס,[252]

239a III Ki. 8:47, 48; II Ch. 6:37 (var. αἰχμαλωτεύεσθαι).

240 I Es. 1:49 = II Ch. 36:10 (sq. εἰς Βαβυλῶνα בְּבָלָה, implying transfer to a new residence).

241 I Es. 2:10 = Ezr. 1:7 (sq. ἐξ Ιερουσαλημ מִירְוּשָׁלֵַם).

242 I Es. 9:69 = Ezr. 4:2 (sq. ἐνταῦθα פֹּה).

243 Ps. 32(33):10 'Α.

244 Ps. 90(91):10 'Α οὐ μεταχθήσεται πρός σε κακά for לֹא־תְאֻנֶּה אֵלֶיךָ רָעָה.— Quite free Ec. 2:3 Σ ἵνα τὴν καρδίαν μου μεταγάγω εἰς σοφίαν for וְלִבִּי נֹהֵג בַּחָכְמָה.

245 Ge. 12:8 'Α jv (μετῆρεν M).

246 With its passive נֶאֱסַף 128 times. Note II Ki. 3:34 רַיֵּאָסְפוּ/רַיֵּסָפוּ; 6:1 רַיֵּסֶף was taken from the √ אסף ; II Ch. 2:2(1), 2(1) רִיאסף/רִיאסף = ריסה (unless רַיֵּצָבֵּר was read, comp. συστολή *drawing together, contraction* Ez. 7:7 'Α/צְפִירָה !); Ne. 12:25 בַּאֲסֻפֵּי/בַּאֲסֻפֵּי ; Is. 24:22 רְאָסְפוּ/רְאָסְפוּ, proved by the fact that אָסְפָה was read for אֲסֵפָה and taken as obj.; 45:9 אֲאָסֵף/אֲאָסֵף a var. of יֵאָסֵם in a number of MSS.; Le. 19:25 AL. לְהוֹסִיף = לֹסֵף / לֶסֶף.

247 With its passives אָסַם, הִתְאַסֵּם/רַיִּתְאַסְּפוּן 9 times. Note De. 33:21 סָפוּן רַיֵּתֵא; ἅμα = אֵת.

248 With its passive נֶסְפָּה, taken in the sense of אָסַף (נֶאֱסַף): De. 32:23; Je. 7:22; Is. 13:15; 29:1 (+ γενήματα).

249 With its passive נֶקְבַּץ 43 times. Note II Es. 8:20 נִקְבְּצוּ/נִקְבְּצוּ (or was נִקְווּ read?); Ne. 13:11 var. קִבֵּץ; Si. 25:3 קפצת/קבצת (see SMEND).

250 With its passives קָבַץ 32 times. Note II Ch. 11:13 הִתְקַבְּצוּ/הִתְקַבְּצוּ ? הִתְיַצְּבוּ

251 6 times.

252 With its passive הִתְכַּנֵּס 3 times. Note Ps. 15(16):4 א[ו]נ]ס(ר)ך/אכנס.

253 De. 32:34 (but Samar. has כנס).

254 With its passive נִקְהַל 8 times.

255 6 times. Comp. also Za. 9:3 א[ c.(a ut vid) AQ. Comp. later Hebrew צְבּוּר *congregation, community.*

256 Ex. 16:6.                    257 Ru. 2:2; Is. 17:5.

*pick* or *gather up;* קָוָה; אָצַר [259] *store up;* אָנַר; [260] הָגַר; [261]
הוֹעִיד [262] *cause to meet in assembly;* הִצְעִיק [263] *call together;*
passive נוֹסַד [264] *sit in* סוֹד *council,* Aram. הִתְכַּנַּשׁ. [265] Less obvious,
the translator indulging in freedom or paraphrase, are the follow-
ing Hebrew verbs: הֶעֱזִין [266] *bring into safety,* קָטַף [267] *pluck off*
(ears of grain), קָצַר [268] *reap, harvest,* הוֹצִיא [269] (followed later
in the context by συναγωγῇ πολλῇ *in a great assembly* קָהָל רָב),
הִצִּיל [270] *rescue* (Israel under the figure of a flock, followed by:
*out of all places whither they have been scattered* [271]), פָּדָה [272]
*redeem,* הִקְרִיב, [273] שׁוֹבֵב [274] *restore, bring back,* שָׁמַר [275] *keep*
(food that has been stored up [276]). [277] || συνάγει ἀνδράσι λύπας
*gathereth up sorrows for men* is certainly a paraphrastic render-

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[258] With its passive נִקְוָה: Ge. 1:9; Je. 3:17; 8:15 (in the last passage mistranslated).
Add III Ki. 7:23 συνηγμένη (Sixt., varr. -νοι BA. al., -νη 242, -να Compl. συναγωγὴ Α)/מִקְוָה.
Hence the ketib which represents a conflation of two readings:

ומקוה שלשים [ושלש] באמה
וקו שלשים [ושלש] באמה יסב אתו סביב.

[259] With its passive נֶאֱצַר: Is. 39:6; 23:18 (apparently including also the parallel
נֶחֱס, which however Α. al. render separately).

[260] Σ Pr. 6:8; 10:5; also Σ De. 28:39 (*colliges*).

[261] Je. 17:11. Comp. Aram. הָגַר.

[262] II Ch. 10:6 וַיִּוָּעֵץ/ויועץ? Also passive נוֹעַד 4 times. Comp. συναγωγὴ עֵדָה
*passim.*

[263] Passive נִצְעַק Jd. 12:1.

[264] Ps. 2:2.

[265] Da. Θ 3:3; ᵹ 3:27 (94).

[266] Ex. 9:19.

[267] De. 23:24(26) Aᵃ. 19. 54. 75. 118 (συλλέγειν rell.).

[268] Jb. 5:5 A. 161 supra lin., 248 supra lin., 249 (comp. 252 mg in doublet; θερίζειν rell.):
קְצִירוֹ/קצרהו.

[269] Ez. 38:4 Q. A. al. which prefix (from Θ) ושובבתיך ונתתי חחים בלחייך > rell.

[270] Ez. 34:12 A. al. (but ῥύεσθαι Λ).

[271] Hence in the sense of קִבֵּץ verse 13; perhaps an inner-Greek corruption induced by
that verse.

[272] Is. 35:10; the translator identifies the פְּדוּיִים with the נִקְבָּצִים.

[273] Je. 37(30):21 καὶ συνάξω αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀποστρέψουσιν πρός με/וְהִקְרַבְתִּיו וְנִגַּשׁ אֵלָי
(misconceived). Passive נִקְרַב Jo. 7:14 (followed by: *tribe by tribe*).

[274] Is. 49:5 (Israel); Ez. 39:2 (Gog); also 38:4 acc. to 62.

[275] Ge. 41:35 ADM bhlmwy (but φυλάσσειν rell.).

[276] Heb. צבר, קבץ.

[277] Je. 47(40):10 88 for שים prob. of inner-Greek origin; the preceding verb is συνάγειν
אָסַף.

ing of יִתֵּן עַצֶּבֶת,[278] *giveth*, that is, *occasioneth, sorrow*. Equally free or paraphrastic is συνάγεσθαι *be gathered together* for הִשְׁתָּעֵר [279] *come as in a tempest*, קָשַׁר [280] *band together, conspire*, נָהַר [281] *flow or stream together*, הָמָה [282] apparently in the sense *congregate in a noisy mass* הָמוֹן.[283] On quite a different footing are the following equations: συνάγειν ἄχυρα *gather chaff* = קוֹשֵׁשׁ תֶּבֶן,[284] the Hebrew verb being a denominative from קַשׁ [285] *chaff* and the whole phrase tantamount to לִקֵּט קַשׁ, just as בֵּרַר בָּרָה is rightly identified with הֶעֱלָה בָרָה,[286] or הִדְשִׁיא דֶשֶׁא with הוֹצִיא דֶשֶׁא;[287] the verb naturally comes to acquire the same connotation, even when the object is a different one, hence when the verb is employed in a figurative sense: συνάγεσθαι *be gathered* הִתְקוֹשֵׁשׁ [288] *gather oneself;* ‖ συνάγειν νεφέλας *gather clouds* = עָנַן עָנָן,[289] exactly like the preceding phrase; ‖ συνάγειν (πόλεως) συναγωγήν *gather together a gathering* (of a city) = הֶעֱמִיד הָמוֹן,[290] where the Hebrew verb, prop. *cause to stand up*, is used in the military sense of *raising* an army; ‖ συνάγειν βίον (or πλοῦτον) *gather sustenance* (or *riches*) = הֵבִיא לֶחֶם [291] prop. *bring in bread* (*food*); ‖ συνάγειν μισθοὺς *gather wages* = הִשְׂתַּכֵּר [292] *earn* שָׂכָר *wages.* ‖ The poetic expression בָּלַע חַיִל [293] *swallow wealth* (as a dainty morsel) becomes in the hand of the translator a prosaic συνάγειν πλοῦτον *gather wealth.*[294]

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[278] Pr. 10:10.    [279] Da. Θ11:40.    [280] Ne. 4:8(2).    [281] Je. 28(51):44.

[282] Ps. 45(46):7 'ΑΣ. One is tempted to read συνεχύθησαν for συνήχθησαν, comp. 𝔊 ἐταράχθησαν and Jl. 2:1 σαναχθητωσαν Λ. al., corrupted from συγχυθήτωσαν (-θήσονται) B. rell. except Compl. which has the synonymous συνταραχθήσονται, 𝔐 רֹגֶז ; also Ha. 2:16 συνεχύνθη 26 / συνήχθη, the former perhaps being correct, euphemism for (א) קִיר . But see the following note.

[283] הָמוֹן is rendered συναγωγή Da. 𝔊 11:10, 11, 12, 13.

[284] Ex. 5:7.    [285] Comp. verse 12.    [286] See above, p. 42.    [287] See above, p. 47.

[288] Ze. 2:1. This was at least the meaning assumed by the translator.

[289] Ge. 9:14 AL.    [290] Da. 𝔊 11:13.

[291] Pr. 31:14 (מִמֶּרְחָק is drawn by the translator to the first half of the verse, and the second half is connected with verse 15).

[292] Hag. 1:6, 6 (in the second place the obj. is of course understood).    [293] Jb. 20:15.

[294] Si. 13:16 πᾶσα σάρξ κατὰ γένος (αὐτῆς) συνάγεται *all flesh is brought together* (in social or friendly intercourse) *according to its kind* is of course a free rendering of מִין כָּל־בָּשָׂר אָצֶל . It is, however, possible that נֶאֱצַל in verse 17c (וְכֵן עָשִׁיר אֶל אִישׁ נֶאֱצַל >𝔊.𝔖, except that 𝔖 has אֲרֵשׁ in the second half of the verse) represents a variant to which then the Greek verb corresponds. נֶאֱצַל ‖ יֶחְרַב is a denominative of אֵצֶל *by the side of*, just as נִלְוָה is a denominative of *לֹת = ܠܘܳܬ , and means *be placed beside, be joined*, comp. Arabic, to be separated from another נֶאֱצַל which (the semantic development working in

ἀποσυνάγειν which appears to be confined to Biblical Greek, corresponds to Hebrew אָסַף[295] *gather and take away, remove, set free* from an illness (ἀπό מִן־). The first preverb anticipates the preposition of the complement.

ἐπισυνάγειν appears to be but a stronger συνάγειν. Hence the equivalents אָסַף,[296] קָבַץ,[297] קִבֵּץ,[298] כָּנַס;[299] passive followed by ἐπί τινα נִלְוָה עַל־[300] *be joined to.*

In a special sense we find ἐπισυνήχθησαν *were contracted, narrowed,*[301] Hebrew נֶאֱצַל[302] prop. *was withdrawn,*[303] hence *shortened, narrowed.*[304] This helps us to understand ἐπισυνάγων[305] ποιήσεις τὴν κιβωτόν[306] *thou shalt make the ark contracting it* (towards the top, so that at the top it is but one cubit wide[307]), Hebrew וְצֹהַר תַּעֲשֶׂה לַתֵּבָה.[308] The translator apparently took צֹהַר in the sense of *roof.* The same sense underlies the verb in the passage καὶ πῆχυς ἐπισυναγόμενος ἐπὶ πρόσωπον τῶν θεειμ ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν *and a cubit narrowed in front of the θεειμ on this side and on that side* = אַמָּה (הַתָּאִים or) הַתָּאוֹת וּגְבוּל לִפְנֵי אֶחָת מִפֹּה וְאַמָּה אַחַת מִפֹּה; the Hebrew text is slightly different.[309]

the opposite direction) means *be laid aside, set apart, excepted* (so 46:8), *withdrawn* ἐλαττοῦσθαι (42:21). SMEND accepts the reading συνάπτεται 307. But συνάγεται is just as good. The two are confounded in a number of passages: De. 32:23 συνάψω 58 / συνάξω; IV Ki. 5:11 ἐπισυνάψει 247 / ἐπισυνάξει 71. 119. 243, 𝔐 אָסַף; Is. 28:20 Θ συναφθῆναι / συναχθῆναι, 𝔐 הִתְכַּנֵּס; Da. Θ 11:10 συνάψουσιν 88 / συνάξουσιν, 𝔐 אָסַף,—the original Greek text read συνάγουσιν (Λ after πολλων; var. ἐρεθισθήσονται 62) καὶ συνάξουσι = וְתִגָּרוּ וְאָסְפוּ; the corruption συνάψουσι for the latter entailed the omission of συναγουσιν και; συνάπτειν πόλεμον הִתְגָּרָה, הִתְגָּרָה (Lᶜ מִלְחָמָה), comp. De. 2:5, 9, 24; Da. Θ 11:25; comp. also De. 2:19 συνάπτειν εἰς πόλεμον = הִתְגָּרָה. Note συνάπτειν = חָבַר, συναπτόμενος = חָבֵר.

295 IV. Ki. 5:3, 6.

296 Passive נֶאֱסַף I Es. 8:70 = Ezr. 9:4; 9:55 = Ne. 8:13; Si. 16:10 (note the meaning).

297 Passive נִקְבָּץ I Es. 8:91 = Ezr. 10:1; 9:5 = 10:9.

298 Ps. 105(106):47.

299 Ps. 146(147):2.—I Es. 9:18 = Ezr. 10:18 οἱ ἐπισυναχθέντες ἀλλογενεῖς γυναῖκας ἔχοντες Ṣ ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܐܬܟܢܫܘ; in אֲשֶׁר הֹשִׁיבוּ נָשִׁים נָכְרִיּוֹת verse 17 there is a good deal of variation in the codd. ἐπσυνεχοντας Sixt., συνεχοντας A, comp. Ṣ ܐܬܝܒܘ, ἐπισυναχθεντας B, 55, ἐπισυναγαγόντας A, 𝔐 הֹשִׁיבוּ.

300 Da. 𝔊 11:34.

301 Comp. συναγωγὴν λαμβάνειν *be narrowed*, PLUT., *Moral.* 411 A.

302 Ez. Θ 42:6.    303 See note 294.    304 ℭ דְּהִיקָן.

305 Varr. ἐπισυναγαγών, -άγον, -αγωγήν.

306 Varr. κατὰ τὴν κιβωτόν, αὐτήν.    308 Ge. 6:16.

307 καὶ εἰς πῆχυν συντελέσεις αὐτὴν ἄνωθεν.    309 Ez. 40:12.

In the preceding pages I have taken notice of those instances in which there is either absolute uniformity in the codices, or at least, while synonymous variants belonging to different Greek roots are recorded,[310] there is relative uniformity as to the particular representative of the ἄγειν group of verbs (simplex or compounds). There remain a goodly number of examples in which no such uniformity exists, the codices varying between one compound and another or between simplex and compound. With our preceding induction based on over 1,200 passages, we ought to be able to see our way in this labyrinth of variants. One cause is certainly inner-Greek textual corruption.[311] Another consists in the fact that certain compounds, without an appreciable difference of sense, interchange with others, particularly

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[310] Comp. ἄγειν ~ ἕλκειν, κομίζειν, φέρειν etc. ; ἀνάγειν ~ αἴρειν, ὁδηγεῖν etc.

[311] Thus (a) απ- for αν-, Heb. הַעֲלֵה : Ez. 26:19 (233, obj. *the deep*, EV. correctly *bring up*) ; and conversely

(b) αν- for απ-, (α) Heb. אָסַר : Ge. 42:16 (qu) ; ‖ (β) Heb. הֵבִיא IV Ki. 24:16 (108, απ- Λ) ; 25:7 (123, απ- Λ) ; ‖ (γ) Heb. הֵשִׁיב : Jd. 19:3 (108).

(c) επ- for απ-, (α) Heb. הוֹלִיךְ : Ex. 14:21 (cghio-r 𝕰, απ- 32) ; De. 28:36 (54, perhaps induced by following ἐπὶ, but clearly inappropriate) ; IV Ki. 6:19 (19, 247, απ- B. al., see note 104) ; Ps. 124(125):5 (263, lead away to destruction) ; La. 3:2 (26, lead away into darkness) ; so apparently also IV Ki. 6:19 (19, 247, απ- AN. Λ. al.) ; ‖ (β) Heb. הוֹבִיל : Jb. 21:30 (Θ) (Ald., sq. εἰς ἡμέραν ὀργῆς αὐτοῦ) (לְיוֹם עֲבָרוֹת) ; ‖ (γ) Heb. נָהַג : Ge. 31:18 (dm) ; De. 28:37 (28. 85. 130) ; apparently also I Ki. 30:22 (Α. 29. 71. 120. 134. 144. 158. 242. 243, απ- certainly more appropriate) ; ‖ (δ) Heb. מָשַׁךְ : Jd. 4:7 (B. al., comp. ἀπαρῶ 54. al.—hence read καὶ ἀπάξω πρός σε, the Greek verb apparently in an intransitive sense, and the Hebrew verb understood in the same manner, comp. verse 6 ; another translator seems to have taken the Hebrew verb transitively, hence A. al. (N. al. in doublet) καὶ ἀπάξω (ἀν- 59 in doublet) σε. Both translators read (סִיסְרָא) אֶל־ (= עַל־, comp. 𝔖 ﬥ) for אֵת־ (so also in the sequel, where indeed some MSS. consistently insert ἐπὶ ; on the other hand ἐπὶ ﬤ M. Compl. on the basis of 𝕸). MOORE (*Hebrew Text of Judges* in Haupt's Bible, p. 31, l. 21), who finds in A. al. traces of a Hebrew variant, but reads with 𝔖 אֹתָהּ for אָתָהּ A. al. / 𝕸 אֵלֶיךָ, correctly incorporates the reading אֶת־ / עַל־ ; *Kittel* registers MOORE's suggestion, forgetting however the עַל־ without which it becomes senseless !) ; ‖ (ε) Heb. הֵשִׁיב : Jd. 19:3 (58, απ- A. al. in doublet means *back*) ; ‖ (ζ) Heb. אָסַר : Ge. 42:16 (m).

(d) συνεπ- for συναπ., Heb. לָקַח : Ex. 14:6 (egj) ; the omission of the second preverb in F* chnuvyz text d₂ is apparently an inner-Greek contraction without reference to the Hebrew ; the first preverb anticipates the preposition μετά עַם־ .

(e) επισυν- for αποσυν-, Heb. אָסַף : IV Ki. 5:7 (247), 11 (71. 119. 243. 247).—Conversely

(f) απ- for επ-, (α) Heb. נָהַג : Ex. 10:13 (s, sq. ἐπὶ τόπον בְּ , EV. brought . . . upon) ; ‖ (β) Heb. פָּקַד : Is. 26:14 (44. 106).

(g) εξ- for εισ- = εισ- (α) Heb. הֵבִיא : Ge. 43:18 (l, sq. εἰς = accus.) ; Ex. 13:5 (a, sq. εἰς אֶל־) ; 23:23 (30, sq. πρὸς אֶל־) ; Jd. 2:1 (Ald., perhaps induced by an understood complement: out of Egypt) ; IV Ki. 10:24 (121, εισ- Λ, sq. *into the charge* or *custody*) ; Je. 42(35):2 (A, εισ- Λ. al., sq. εἰς = accus.) ; prob. also Jo. 24:8 (18. 128, simplex rell., sq. εἰς אֶל־) ; Ez. 17:2 (36. 49. 68. 87. 90. 228. 238, simplex rell., sq. πρὸς אֶל־ and εἰς הָ—) ; 20:2 (86. 233, sq. εἰς

those with a double preverb.    Thus, e. g., ἐπάγειν and ἐπανάγειν,[312] συνάγειν and ἐπισυνάγειν[313] are not materially different in sense. Then the variation may represent the difference between a literal

אֶל־ ; or is it due to homoioteleuton, since with B they omit καὶ ἐξήγαγον αὐτοὺς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου?).

(*h*) εν- for εξ-, Heb. הוֹצִיא : Ex. 12:51 (c, sq. *out of the land of Egypt*).

(*i*) επ- for εξ-, Heb. הוֹצִיא : Ez. 20:14 (Compl.? sc. out of Egypt).

(*j*) εισ- for επ-, Heb. הֵבִיא : Je. 11:8 Θ (Compl., sq. ἐπί τινα עַל־).

(*k*) εν- for επ-, Heb. הִשִׁיא : Si. 4:21 (A* vid).

(*l*) εξ- for επ-, Heb. נָחָה : Ps. 77(78):26 (215, obj. *the south wind*, AV. brought in, RV. *guided*, ᴳ brought on).

(*m*) υπ- for επ-, Heb. הֵבִיא : Ge. 6:17(18) ; II Ch. 34:28 (106) ; in both cases sq. ἐπὶ τόπον עַל־ .

(*n*) προ- for περι-, Heb. הֶעֱבִיר : Ez. 37:2 (68. Ald., sq. κυκλόθεν κύκλω, סָבִיב סָבִיב ).

(*o*) παρ- for προσ-, Heb. הִקְרִיב : Le. 10:19 (e, obj. עֹלָה , חַטָּאת ).

(*p*) προ- for προσ-, Heb. הִשִׁיב : Pr. 19:24 (23, sq. *to his mouth*).    Conversely

(*q*) προσ- for προ-, Heb. עָבַר : Jo. 4:5 (58, sq. ἔμπροσθέν μου πρὸ προσώπου Κυρίου / לְפָנֵי אֲרוֹן אֱלֹהֵיכֶם , but sq. εἰς μέσον אֶל־תּוֹךְ ).

(*r*) αν- for συν-, (a) Heb. קָבַץ : Ez. 16:37 (233, συν- AQ. Λ. al.) ; 29:13 (233) ; ‖ (β) passive, Aramaic הִתְכְּנַשׁ : Da. Θ 3:27 (94) (233).    Conversely

(*s*) συν- for αν-, Heb. הֶעֱלָה : Ex. 8:5(1) (A) ; Je. 23:7 (אֵ*, but αν- ᴺ c. a. (?)) ; 40 (33):6 (144, obj. *healing*) ; Ez. 37:12 (106, sq. *out of your graves*) ; prob. also II Ch. 2:16 (15) (A. 74, comp. ἀναφέρειν Λ, sq. εἰς = accus.).

(*t*) ἐν- for συν-, Heb. קָוָה (misunderstood) : Mi. 5:7(6) (36 text, 49 ; לְ taken as *nota accusativi* ; pass. pro. act.?).

(*u*) συνηγαγον B. al. / νῦν ἤγαγον = (הָ)עַתָּה הֲבֵאתִי IV Ki. 19:25 (comp. καὶ νῦν ἤγαγον Λ, καὶ ἤγαγον AN. al.).

(*v*) Errors due to aberration of the eye: (a) εξ- for δι-, Heb. הֶעֱבִיר : Ps. 135(136):14 (180, comp. verse 11) ; ‖ (β) εξ- for εισ-, Heb. הֵבִיא : Ex. 6:8 (B*l, comp. verse 6 ; sq. εἰς אֶל־) ; ‖ (γ) απ- for simplex or κατ-, Heb. הֵבִיא : Ge. 42:20 (76, comp. verse 19 ; sq. πρός אֶל־).

(*w*) Psychological error through the influence of some form in the surrounding context: (a) εξ- for εισ-, Heb. הֵבִיא : III Ki. 21(20):39 (B, induced perhaps by ἐξῆλθεν in the preceding clause ; sq. πρός אֶל־. סָר is apparently not represented in ᴳ) ; ‖ (β) εξ- for simplex, Heb. הוֹלִיךְ : Le. 26:13 (a, accommodated to ἐξαγαγών in the first half of the verse, sq. קוֹמְמִיּוּת ) ; conversely ‖ (γ) simplex for εξ-, Heb. הוֹצִיא : Ps. 134(135):7 (270, sq. ἐκ מִן־ , perhaps induced by ἀγαγών at the beginning of the verse) ; ‖ (δ) εισ- for συν-, Heb. אָסַף : IV Ki. 22:4 (123. Ald., apparently induced by the preceding εἰσενεχθέν) ; Heb. הֵבִיא : De. 30:5 (Ald., comp. συνάξει verse 4 ; sq. εἰς אֶל־) ; ‖ (ε) προσ- for επ-, Heb. הֵבִיא : II Ch. 7:22 (44, perhaps induced by προσεκύνησαν ; sq. ἐπί עַל־) ; ‖ (εε) προσ- for εισ-, Heb. הֵבִיא : Le. 20:22 (u, induced by προσοχθίσῃ? construed with εἰς הָ־) ; ‖ (ζ) συν- for εξ-, Heb. הוֹצִיא : Ex. 7:4 (16 sq. *out of the land of Egypt*; induced by σὺν δυνάμει?) ; ‖ (η) συν- for simplex, Heb. לָקַח : Nu. 11:16 (Bas. ; εξ- 16. 54. 75. 129 Compl., that is, out of the camp ; συν- induced by συνάγαγε at the beginning of the verse) ; ‖ (θ) simplex for συν-, Heb. קָבַץ : Is. 43:5 (36, induced by the preceding ἄξω).

[312] Heb. הֵבִיא : Ge. 18:19 (ἐπαν- m, sq. ἐπί עַל־) ; Jd. 9:24 (ἐπαν- 58 ; sq. ἐπί עַל־ later in the context). Heb. הֶעֱלָה : Ex. 33:5 (ἐπαν- x, sq. ἐπί עַל־ ; ᴳ rd. אֶעֱלֶה/אַעֲלֶה and רֶגַע/נֶגַע ).

[313] συν- var. επισυν-, נָאֱסַף : II Ki. 23:11 (Λ, sq. ἐπὶ σιαγόνα Λ = לְחַיָּה / εἰς θηρία B. rell. = לַחַיָּה 𝔐) ; II Es. 9:4 (Λ, sq. πρός אֶל־) ; Mi. 4:11 (Compl., sq. ἐπί עַל־) ; Ze. 12:3 (40, sq. ἐπί עַל־) ; ‖ Heb. קִבֵּץ, נִקְבַּץ : Jo. 10:6 (44. 54. 74–76. 106. 118. 134. 209) ; Is. 60:4 (επι συνηγμενα

rendering and one more suitable to the context.[313a]   Or the pur-
port of the variant may be to avoid confounding the verb with a
similar one in the immediate context, whereas there is a difference
of connotation between the two.[314]   But in the majority of cases,
the variant seems to be accommodated to a real or seeming comple-
ment or contextual element, and in a great many cases I should
not venture to decide as to what the translator really wrote and
what must be charged to the account of transcribers of the text.
While it is hardly necessary for the purposes of the present
paper to enumerate all such cases, there remain, however, to be
added to the list of verbs serving as equivalents of the simplex
or of its compounds such as have so far been kept out owing to
the diversity of the Greek tradition.   These are Hebrew נָהַל,[315]
a synonym of נָהַג and הִנְחָה, which we may claim for the sim-
plex; הִגְלָה[316] *lead into exile*, of which ἀπάγειν is an adequate
rendering; עָשַׁק[317] *take by violence*, to which βία ἄγειν or ἀπάγειν
may equally correspond; הֵנִיס[318] *drive hastily to a safe place*,
of which συνάγειν is a paraphrastic rendering, while εἰσάγειν is

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62. 90. 144. 308); De. 30:4 (32); ‖ Heb. נִקְהַל: Ez. 38:7 (Λ. 231, sq. πρός Λ. 231 / μετά rell. עַל־);
‖ Aram. כְּנַשׁ: Da. Θ 3:2 (62. 147).   Conversely, επισυν- var. συν-, Heb. אָסַף, אָסַם: Ha. 2:5
(70); Za. 14:2 (40); Is. 52:12 (אֲ*, επι-, however, may stand in contrast to προ-: προπορεύσεται
γὰρ πρότερος ὑμῶν Κύριος καὶ ὁ ἐπισυνάγων ὑμᾶς θεὸς Ισραηλ, thus bringing out the contrast
between הֹלֵךְ לִפְנֵיכֶם and מְאַסִּפְכֶם : the מְאַסֵּם being the הֹלֵךְ אַחֲרֵיהֶם comp. Jo.
6:9, 13; hence the Greek preverb expresses the *Piel*: the Hebrew says, *pick up the very last*,
the Greek: *gather in addition*.   Observe the impotence of ܫᵸ: ܠ‍ܡܟܢܫ); ‖ Heb. קָבַץ,
נִקְבַּץ, קִבֵּץ: III Ki. 18:20 (A. Λ. 44. 246); Ez. 16:37 (AQ. Λ. al.); Ps. 101(102):22 (Bאᶜ· ᵃ T);
‖ Heb. נִקְהַל: II Ch. 20:26 (71); ‖ Heb. נוֹעַד: II Ch. 5:6 (Ald.); ‖ Heb. אָסַר: Ps. 30(31):
13 (B); ‖ Heb. √מלא: Je. 12:6 (41, אֵ‎ מָלְאוּ, the exact form read by the translator is some-
what doubtful, but he certainly thought of יִתְמַלָּאוּן Jb. 16:10 *mass themselves;* comp.
also Arab. ܡܠܐ *mass, multitude,* e. g. Ḳoran 2:247).

313a E. g. Ps. 101(102):24 απ- 21. 210, comp. EV. *take me not away,* but the literal αν- is
found in the majority of the codd.

314 E. g. Lev. 4:4 הֵבִיא is rendered by προσάγειν; but ab have εισ-, clearly to differentiate
προσάξει here = הֵבִיא and προσάξει verse 3 = הִקְרִיב, the two of course being different in
sense; ib. 14 for προσ- we find the simplex in 85ᵐᵍ, Heb. הֵבִיא sq. παρὰ τὰς θύρας לִפְנֵי,
thus differentiating it from προσάξει primo / וְהִקְרִיבוֹ.

315 Is. 49:10 simplex, but εξ- 62. 147.

316 E. g. I Es. 1:56 = II Ch. 36:20 (εισ- 74, assimilated to following εἰς אֶל־).

317 Is. 52:4 (απ- 41); בְּאֶפֶס is left untranslated; pass. pro act.

318 Ex. 9:20 (εισ- b, sq. εἰς אֶל־).

adjusted to the complement; תָּאַר,[319] said of a boundary-line, the
exact meaning of which verb is uncertain, for which we find how-
ever ἄγειν, διάγειν and διεξάγειν; קָדֵשׁ [319a] prop. *consecrate*, para-
phrased in EV. *prepare*, in the Greek translation *bring on*, *in* or
*up*, ἐπάγειν, εἰς-, ἀν-; the phrases הִזִּיל מַיִם [320] *cause water to
flow* = ἐξάγειν ὕδωρ, the simplex which is found in one codex[321]
being probably due to the influence of ἄξει in the same verse
which corresponds to הוֹלִיךְ; חָטַב עֵצִים,[322] συνάγειν (var. συνει-
σάγειν [323]) ξύλα, חָטַב being taken as a denominative of *חֲטָב [324]
*firewood* and therefore denoting *collect firewood*.[325]

There still remain a number of passages in which the identi-
fication is attended by great difficulties and which may therefore
be ignored on the present occasion. With that great mass of
examples, about which there cannot be any uncertainty, properly
classified in the foregoing pages, the following conclusions require
no further elucidation:

(*a*) The Greek preverb corresponds to a Hebrew-Aramaic
root. Thus ἀν- corresponds to Hebrew עלה, κατ- to Hebrew
ירד, προσ- to Hebrew-Aramaic קרב, Hebrew נגשׁ, εἰσ- to Ara-
maic עלל, ἐξ- to Hebrew יצא, περι- to Hebrew סבב, συν- to
Hebrew אסף, קבץ and their synonyms, Aramaic כנשׁ.

(*b*) Certain Hebrew-Aramaic roots may be the equivalents of
more than one Greek preverb, according to the nature of the
complementary preposition following; thus עבר בְּ is δι- followed
by ἐν or διά, but עבר עַל is παρ-. Particularly is this true of the
Hebrew root בוא, which when corresponding to Aramaic עלל,
represents Greek εἰσ-, while, as the equivalent of Aramaic אתא
and when followed by the preposition ἐπί עַל־, stands for Greek
ἐπ-; when followed by the preposition εἰς אֶל־ and equivalents,
בוא has still the force of אתא, but corresponds to the Greek
simplex, that is, to no preverb.

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[319] Jo. 15:9 (simplex BGΔ. 29. 54. 56. 59. 63. 75, διεξ- 237, εξ- rell.).

[319a] Je. 22:7; εισ- A; αν- 23; sq. ἐπί τινα עַל־.    [320] Is. 48:20.

[321] 26.    [322] De. 19:5.    [323] 82 ex corr.    [324] Arab. حَطَب.

[325] Arab. حَطَب.—But 44. 74. 76. 106. 134 Comp. A have ἐκκόπτειν, comp. also ξυλοφόρος
Jo. 9:27(21), Ald., 33(27) 16. 54. 75; elsewhere the verb is rendered by κόπτειν or its compounds.

(c) As the preverbs ἀν- and περι- correspond to roots from which the prepositions (ultimately adverbs) עַל- and סָבִיב are derived, and as the same may perhaps be said of εἰσ- (בְּ parallel to בוא), προ- corresponds outright to לִפְנֵי.

(d) The preverb may correspond to no radical element in the Hebrew-Aramaic verb, its employment being conditioned by the prepositional complement which it anticipates (in which case syntactical groups arise on the Greek and Semitic side) or by the general context. Such verbs naturally in themselves comport more with simplex than with any of its compounds. A verb of motion, such as ἄγειν is, depends largely upon the context indicating the direction; and, according as this element acquires prominence, a compound will be found to be more specific.

(e) While care must be taken to recognize inner-Greek errors, and differences of meaning between compounds too slight to be noticed outside Greek must be reckoned with, the very fact that the Hebrew-Aramaic equivalents are often in themselves indifferent with regard to the Greek preverb and that the latter corresponds rather to an element in the general context, makes the task of deciding between variants in the Greek texts a rather difficult one.

# THE PRONUNCIATION OF THE שְׁוָא ACCORDING TO NEW HEXAPLARIC MATERIAL

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On the subject of the pronunciation of the שְׁוָא (‑ֽ‑) Ben
Asher (דִּקְדּוּקֵי הַטְּעָמִים, §§ 11–14, pp. 12 ff.) lays down the fol-
lowing rules: (a) ‑ֽ‑ at the beginning of a word (α) unaccom-
panied by געיה (‑ֽ‑) is sounded as a פתחה קטנה (= סגול)
pronounced quickly (בִּמְהֵרָה), e. g. בְּרוּךְ Gen. 26:29, בְּנֵי ib. 46:5,
בְּרִית Num. 10:33, hence bĕrūk̄, bĕnē, bĕrīp̄; (β) with געיה (‑ֽ‑)
as a פתחה גדולה (= פתח, presumably in the same tempo), e. g.
בְּבוֹא Ps. 51:2, לְכוּ ib. 46:9, בְּלֶכְתְּךָ Prov. 4:12, בְּשָׁכְבְּךָ ib. 6:22,
בְּרָעָתוֹ ib. 14:32, hence bǎbō, lǎkū, bǎlektěkǎ, bǎšokběkǎ, bǎrǎʿǎp̄ō;
(γ) when followed by a laryngeal (אהחע), it is assimilated in
pronunciation to the next following vowel, e. g. בְּהֹנוֹת Judg. 1:7,
תְּאֵהֲבוּ Prov. 1:22, לְהֶלְכָה Ps. 10:8, עְלֶיהָ Ezr. 2:2, hence
bohōnōp̄, teʾĕhǎbū, lehelkǎ, reʾĕlǎįǎ; and so without געיה: בְּאֵר,
מְאֹד, שְׁאֵר, מְעוּכָה, מְחֵה, beʾēr, moʾōd, šeʾēr, muʿūkǎ, mehē; ||
(b) in the middle of a word, of two consecutive ‑ֽ‑s the first is
not sounded at all, while the second is pronounced (after the
above-mentioned manner), e. g. וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ, וַיִּקְרְאוּ, וַיִּשְׁלְחוּ, uaįiš-
luhū, uaįikruʾū, uaįišmuʿū; || (c) in the middle of a word, when
preceded by (a vowel and) געיה and followed by a laryngeal (and
the vowel ō or ǎ), under ר but sporadically also under another
consonant, the ‑ֽ‑ is sounded (presumably in the manner men-
tioned), e. g. בְּרֹחֹב Gen. 19:2, מְרֹאֹת ib. 27:1, מֶרְעֹת Ezek.
34:10, לְקְחָה, הָרְחָבָה Gen. 2:23, לְקְחִי I Ki. 17:11, שְׁמְעָה Ps.
39:13, הֶשְׁחִיתוּ הָתְעִיבוּ ib. 14:1, hence bǎrohōb, mēroʾōp̄,
mēroʿōp̄, hǎrǎhǎbǎ, lukǎhǎ, likǐhī, simǎʿǎ, hišǐhīpū, hipǐʿībū;
contrast פְּרָאֹות בְּרָאֹות לִרְאֹות לִרְחֹק, lirhōk, lirʾōp̄, birʾōp̄,
kirʾōp̄; || (d) ‑ֽ‑ is always sounded in the middle of a word under a
geminate consonant, e. g. נִדְחֵי, נִדְחוּ, לְקְחוּ, נִשְׁאֹו, דִּכְּאוּ וְנִבְּאוּ,

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*yĕnibu'ū, duk̄u'ū, niśo'ō, luk̄uh̄ū, niduh̄ū, nideh̄ē;* ‖ (*e*) in all
other cases ⸗ in the middle of a word is not sounded, e. g. פִּינְחָס,
בֵּרֲחוּ, יִרֲאוּ, נָטֲעוּ, זָרֲעוּ, קָרֲעוּ, יִצֲאוּ, שָׁמֲעוּ, לָקֲחוּ, בָּרֲחוּ, hence *pinh̄ās,*
*iār'ū, nāt'ū, zār'ū, k̄ār'ū, iaṣ'ū, šām'ū, lāk̄ū, bārh̄ū;* ‖ (*f*) ⸗ at
the beginning of a word followed by י is sounded as *i* (בְּהֹדָא
נְקוּדָא, ⸗), e. g. לִיקִים, וְיֵד, לִיוֹם, בִּיוֹם, hence *bii̯ōm, lii̯ōm,*
*ui̯i̯ad, lii̯ākīm;* hence also לְיִשְׂרָאֵל, בְּיִקְרוֹתֶיךָ, etc., *lii̯isrā'ēl,*
*bii̯ik̄rōp̄ckā,* etc.; ‖ (*g*) certain scribes introduce a ⸗ in cases like
וּנִפְתַּחֲה Gen. 43:21, שָׁמֲעָה Ps. 39:13, וָאֶשְׁמֲעָה Dan. 8:13,
וְנִקְרֲאָה Zech. 8:3; Est. 2:14, וְנִזְרֲעָה Num. 5:21, וָאֶטֲקָלָה Ezr.
8:25, קֲהָת Num. 4:2, הֱקֲהָתִי 3:27, הֱקֲהָתִים 10:21, הֱקֲעֵרָה 7:85,
הֱגֲרֵנוּת I Sam. 23:1, כֻּתֲנוֹת Exod. 28:40, מָרְדֳּכָי Est. 2:5; 4:12
and many more, while other scribes write a simple ⸗; but the
matter is of no importance ("it has no root") and it is simply
one of scribal choice; that is to say, certainly in the examples
with a laryngeal following, the pronunciation is governed by the
rules mentioned, and the indication of the pronunciation in script
is unnecessary; ‖ (*h*) when ⸗ intervenes in the middle of a word
between two similar consonants, the Masorete Pīnh̄ās writes ⸗,
e. g. סְכֲכִים Exod. 25:20, הַמֲשֹׁרֲרִים I Chr. 9:33, שֹׁטֲטוּ Jerem.
5:1, etc.; so also under ר (preceded by one of the בַּלְכִן, comp.
reference § 13, footnote *f*): מְרֲפִידִים Exod. 19:2, הָרֲוָחֹה Exod.
8:11; but also elsewhere, e. g. וְקֲרֹב Ps. 58:22, וְסֲגַר Dan. 6:23,
וְשֲׁבֵה Judg. 5:12, בְּדֵי Exod. 23:19, קֲשִׁי Deut. 9:27, יִכְתֲּבֵם Isa.
10:9. Comp. on the latter subject more fully §§ 33, 34, where
גֵּעְיה is mentioned as a condition; thus רִבֲבוֹת Num. 10:36, but
רִבְבֹת Deut. 33:17, the ⸗ not being sounded in the latter in-
stance, hence *ribbōp̄;* ⸗ is likewise silent in cases like יִשֲׁחֲרֻנְנִי
Hos. 5:15, though גֵּעְיה precedes, hence *i̯ĕšah̄ărūnnī;* in the case
of מְ after the article, with גֵּעְיה preceding, we find indifferently
⸗ and ⸗, thus הַמֲתֹעֲבִים Mic. 3:9, but הַמְיַלְּדֹת Exod. 1:17; the
cases are enumerated in full.

Similar rules are laid down by HAi̯ūG in the Introduction to
his Treatise on the Weak and Geminative Verbs in Hebrew (ed.
JASTROW, Leyden, 1897, p. ٥ ff.; the passage was previously edited
and translated by the same scholar in *ZAW.*, V [1885], 209 ff.;

comp. also the Hebrew translations in DUKES, *Beiträge zur ältesten Auslegung, etc.*, 1844, Hebrew Supplement, 4–6; 19 f.; also the passage in the ספר הנקוד, ib. 200 ff.; see also KÖNIG, *Lehrgebäude*, I, 665 ff.). The following deviations (if we may speak of such in view of the unclear language of BEN ASHER) may be noted: Ad *a* γ he remarks that when the vowel following the laryngeal is ⊤⊤, it becomes difficult to sound the ⊤⊤ as a ⊤, and is therefore pronounced as *a* (بالفتح), e. g. גַּעְרָה, לְהָבִים, דְּאָגָה,

פְּהָדִים, hence *gă'ără, lăhăbīm, dă'ăžă, păḥădīm.* The same pronunciation (بالفتح, comp. IBN EZRA, צחות, ed. Ven. קלה *a:*

בפתח חטף והטעם שוא עם פתח; he limits it, however, to cases where the next vowel is ⊤⊤, e. g. שְׁמָרִים) he appears to assign to the ⊤⊤ in the cases enumerated by BEN ASHER in *a a* and β (hence without regard to the גּעיה), e. g. דְּשֵׁנִים, נְדֻדִּים, קְלָלָה, בְּרָכָה,

גְּלִילִים, hence *bărăkă, kălălă, nădūdīm, dăšēnīm, gălīlīm.* An obvious exception is made in the case of a ⊤⊤ originating in Semitic *u*, e. g. קָדָשִׁים, בְּרֻנּוֹת, רְאִי, אֳנִיָּה, which is to be sounded as *ŏ.* Ad *b*, ḤAIŪĞ is explicit as to the difference between a laryngeal and a non-laryngeal following the second ⊤⊤; thus יִשְׁמְעוּ is to be pronounced *iišmuʻū* (بالضم), but יִשְׁמְרוּ *iišmărū* (بالفتح); יִרְמְיָהוּ (in consonance with BEN ASHER's

rule under *f*) *iirmiiăhū* (بالكسر). A new rule (*i*) given by ḤAIŪĞ touches the double ⊤⊤ at the end of a word, e. g. וַיֵּבְךְ Gen. 46:29, יֶפְתְּ ib. 9:27, שָׁבְתְּ Isa. 47:7; when occurring in the context, the second ⊤⊤ is vocal, but it is silent in pause. To this rule IBN EZRA takes exception; it is clearly impossible to vocalize the ⊤⊤ in a combination like יַפְתְּ אֱלֹהִים Gen. 9:27. IBN EZRA further states that in examples like בְּרֻאוּבֵן, לִרְאוּבֵן, etc., the ⊤⊤ is silent.

Whereas ABRAHAM BALMES gives the ⊤⊤ in בְּרָכָה, etc., the sound of *ă* (פתח גדול), DURAN (מעשה אפוד, p. 34) is explicit in vindicating for it the sound of a very short *ĕ* (להתקרב תנועתו לתנועת הסגול אבל שהיא יותר קצרה). Comp. also M. SCHREINER, "Zur Geschichte der Aussprache des Hebräischen," in *ZAW.* VI (1886), 236–39. 245. 256. 258.

On the pronunciation of the ⸗ in the Septuagint, particularly
the Hexaplaric remains, see FRANKEL, *Vorstudien*, § 23, p. 121 f.;
FIELD, *Hexapla*, lxxiv. The observations given there are ex-
tremely meager, and the subject requires much fuller handling.
Reserving an examination of the Septuagint and the older Hexa-
plaric data for a future occasion, I may be permitted to present
the evidence as far as it is based on the new and much more
copious Hexaplaric material discovered by MERCATI and others
and excerpted in the second Supplement to the Oxford Con-
cordance.

(*a*) ⸗ at the beginning of a word:

(*aβ*) followed by a non-laryngeal; transcribed by *a* (19 times):
βανη בְּנֵי 17:46 (where no book is named, the references are all
to Psalms); βακααλ בְּקָהָל 34:18; βαμεθγε בְּמֹתֶג 31:9; βαφιεμ
בְּפִיהֶם 48:14; βαχας בְּבַעַס 30:10; καρωθ (*sic*) קְרֹב 31:9; κασε
קְצֵה 45:10; λαβαλωθ לְבָּלֹות 48:15; λαμαλχη לְמַלְכֵי 88:28;
λαμαν לְמַעַן 29:13; λαμεσφατι לְמִשְׁפָּטֵי 34:23; λανεγδ לְנֶגֶד 35:2;
λαχολ לְכֹל 17:31; μαλαμμεδ מְלַמֵּד 17:35; νακαμωθ נְקָמֹות 17:48;
σαβαωθ צְבָאֹות 45:8, 12; φανη פְּנֵי 17:43; χαμω כְּמֹו 88:47.
Dubious: λαμεσαλ (read λεμασαλ?) לְמָשָׁל 48:5; ‖ transcribed by
ε (10 t.): βεκορβ בְּקֶרֶב 35:2; βεσανει בְּשׁוּעִי 30:23; βεκοδοσ[ι]
בְּקָדְשִׁי 88:36; γεδουδ גְּדוּד 17:30; ζερουωθαι זְרֹעֹתֵי 17:35; θεσω-
βαβθηνι תְּסֹובְבֵנִי 31:7; λερβι (*sic*) לְרִיבִי 34:23; μεσιω מְשִׁיחֹו 27:8;
σεμω שְׁמֹו 28:2; σερουφα צְרוּפָה. With artificial gemination:
λεββαβεχεμ לְבַבְכֶם 30:25; ‖ by ο (once): μοσανε מְשֻׁנֶּה 17:34;
‖ by ι (once): χισους כְּסוּס 31:9; ‖ unexpressed by any vowel
(50 t.): βγηουαθω בְּגַאֲוָתֹו 45:4; βδαμι בְּדָמֵי 29:10; βδερχ
בְּדֶרֶךְ 31:8; βκερβα בְּקִרְבָּהּ 45:6; βκωλω בְּקֹולֹו 45:7; βλεβ
בְּלֵב 45:3; βνη בְּנֵי 28:1; 30:20; 48:3 *bis*; 88:48; βοωραθ r.
βθωραθ בְּתֹורַת 1:2; βρεδθι בְּרִדְתִּי 29:10; βριθι בְּרִיתִי 88:35;
βσαβτ בְּשֵׁבֶט 88:33; βσαλουι בְּשַׁלְוִי 29:7; βσαρωθ בְּצָרֹות 30:8;
45:2; βσεδκαθαχ בְּצִדְקָתֶךָ 30:2; βσεθρ בְּסֵתֶר 31:21; βσχχα (*sic*)
בְּסֻכָּה 30:21; βχεννωρ בְּכִנֹּור 48:5; βχωρ בְּכֹור 88:28; ζχορ
זְכָר 88:48; ηζχορ (*sic*) זְכֹר 88:51; θβουννωθ תְּבוּנֹות 48:4; λβηθ
לְבֵית 30:3; λδανειδ, λδαδ לְדָוִד 28:1; 29:1; 30:1; 34:1; 35:1;
88:50, 76; αδωρ r. λδωρ לְדֹור 48:12; λμαωλ לְמָחֹול 29:12; λσετφ

לְשֶׁטֶף 31:6; λσωνωθ (with a query apud REDPATH) לְשֹׁנוֹת 30:21;
λχου לְכוּ 45:9; μσιαχ מְשִׂיחֶךָ 88:39, 52; μσουδωθ מְצוּדוֹת 30:3;
σμα שְׁמַע 29:11; σμην r. σμηη שֹׁמְחֵי 34:26; σφωθαϊ שְׂפָתַי 88:35;
φλαγαν פְּלַגָּיו 45:5; χειλ r. χσιλ כְּסִיל 48:11; χρηε כָּרַע 34:14;
χσεδκαδ (sic) כְּצִדְקֶךָ 34:24; χφαρδ כְּפֶרֶד 31:9.

Cases with initial יְ: with a (once): ιασουαθι יְשׁוּעָתִי; ‖ with ε
(once): ιεσανου יְשׁוּעוֹ 17:42; ‖ with no vowel (11 t.): ιδαββερ

יְדַבֵּר (pronounced iḏaber, that is probably īḏaber) 48:4; ιδαβ-
βηρου יְדַבְּרוּ 34:20; ιμαλλετ יְמַלֵּט 88:49; ιμη יְמֵי 88:46; ιμιν
יָמִין 88:43; ιμινω יְמִינוֹ 88:26; ιριβαϊ יְרִיבַי 34:1; ισαββουνι
יְסוֹבְבֵנִי 48:6; ισουβερ (sic) יְשׁוֹבֵר 45:10; ισουωθ יְשׁוּעוֹת 27:8;
ισωβαβεννου יְסוֹבְבֵנוּ 31:10.

Initial וְ is transcribed ου (with no vowel following) in numer-
ous cases.

(γ) followed by a laryngeal: with a (8 t.): βααφφω בָּאֱפוֹ 29:6;
βααμιρ בְּהֶמִיר 45:3; βαανφη בְּחֶנְפֵי 34:16; βαεζραθι (ε latet)
בְּעֶזְרָתִי 34:2; λααβδ לְעֶבֶד 35:1; λααραρι לְהָרְרֵי 29:8; χαα
כְּאֵה 34:14; χααφαρ כֶּעָפָר 17:43. As will be noticed, the vowel
following is a (◌ַ, ◌ֲ, ◌ֶ in segolate form), except in one case
which is not certain; ‖ with o (once), sequ. o: λοομ לְחֶם (read
לְחֹם?) 34:1, hence with assimilation; ‖ with ε (4 t.): βεεζδαχ
בְּחַסְדְּךָ 30:8; βεειρ בְּעִיר 30:22; μεεθθα מְהֶתָה 88:41; νεουσα
נְהוּשָׁה 17:35, apparently not on the principle of assimilation; ‖
with η, clearly on the principle of assimilation (3 t.): βηηκι
בְּחֵיקִי 88:51; βηνναυ r. βηηναυ בְּעֵינָיו 35:3; μηηρα מְהֵרָה 30:3;
‖ with no vowel (18 t.): θελαθαχ תְּהִלָּתֶךָ 34:28; λωλαμ לְעוֹלָם
29:7, 13; 30:2; 48:9, 12; 88:29, 37, 38 (/עוֹלָם), 53; λωσιηνι
לְהוֹשִׁיעֵנִי 30:3; μωδ מְאֹד 45:2; νουμ נְאֻם 35:2; σαθι שְׁאָתִי 88:5;
σωλ שְׁאוֹל 48:15; 88:49; with initial יְ: ιαλληλου יְהַלְלוּ 88:32;
ιϊδαθι יְחָדְתִי 34:17. Whether the laryngeal was sounded, it is
impossible to tell.

(bc) in the middle of a word:

(a) at the end of a closed syllable of the type מַלְכִּי, examples
αβδω עַבְדוֹ 34:27; φααλθα פָּעַלְתָּ 31:20; ικραηνι יִקְרָאֵנִי 88:27;
φεδιων פִּדְיוֹן 48:9; λαβλωμ לִבְלֹם 31:9; νεγδι נֶגְדִּי 88:37; οσχι
חָשְׁכִּי 17:29; χοφρω כָּפְרוּ 48:8. A following laryngeal is of

course ignored in transcription: μαχωβιμ מִכְאוֹבִים; ιεριβου
יְרְחִיבוּ 34:21; ιεσαχα יִשְׁעֶךָ 17:36; σεμα שִׂמְחָה 29:12; μαλαμωθ
מִלְחָמוֹת 45:10; ιερε יִרְאֶה 88:49; ιερημ יִרְעֶם 48:15; νεβαλ נִבְהָל
29:8; ιθαλλαλου יִתְהַלָּלוּ; εσοκημ אֶשְׁחָקֵם 17:43. In ιεσσι יִשְׁעִי
17:47 we have actual slurring of the laryngeal and compensative
assimilation. A preceding laryngeal is equally ignored in tran-
scription: ιδαυ יֶהְדָּרוּ 34:26; βαταθι בְּטַחְתִּי 30:7; φεθεθα פְּתַחְתָּ
29:12; ιειε יֶהְיֶה 88:37, יֶחְיֶה 88:49. With following ל: σαλουι
שַׁלְוִי 29:7. With following י: αδιω עֶדְיוֹ 31:9; ελιων עֶלְיוֹן
45:5; 88:28.

Note εργλαι רַגְלֵי 30:9, but ρεγλαι 17:34, 39; λφνωθ לִפְנוֹת
45:6; μσωθαι מִצְוֹתַי 88:32; θου תֶּהְיוּ 31:9, as if = תְּהֶה; ερι
(probably corrupt) יִרְאֶה 48:11. κοδος קָדְשִׁי 88:36 and ονι עָנְיֵ
30:8 are perhaps to be explained on the analogy of Syriac ܥܘܢܒܝ
with silent ܘ and the like.

(β) at the end of a closed syllable of the type מַלְכֵּי: μαλχη
מַלְכֵי 88:28; αβλη הַבְלֵי 30:7; εσρη אַשְׁרֵי 1:1; 111:1; δαβρη
דִּבְרֵי 34:20; ισρη יִשְׁרֵי 31:11; ρεγη רִגְעֵי 34:20; βαλβαβαμ =
בִּלְבָם / בִּלְבָבָם 34:25; βαυγαϊβ (r. -μ) בִּנְגָעִים 88:33; βαρσωναχ
בִּרְצוֹנְךָ 29:8; βαρσωνω בִּרְצוֹנוֹ 29:6; λαβνη לִבְנֵי 48:1; ρυχση
רִכְסֵי 30:21. Note, however, λεββαβεχεμ לְבָבְכֶם 30:25; ανανθαχ
עֲנִתְךָ 17:36 (provided it comes from עֲנָוָה and not עֲנָוֶה). Note
also βσεβ(r. μ)ωθαμ which presupposes בִּשְׁמוֹתָם / בִּשְׁמֹתָם 48:12
and λσαχηναυ / לִשְׁכֵנָיו 88:42. Interesting is the transcription
εκβωθ for עֲקֻבוֹת 88:52. εζαχ for הִזְקוּ 30:25 implies חָזְקוּ, a
Syriasm.

‑ at the end of a closed syllable of the type וּבְרִיתִי is equally
unrepresented: ουβριθι וּבְרִיתִי 88:29; ουθφελλαθι וּתְפַּלְתִי 34:13;
ουμσουδαθι וּמְצוּדָתִי 30:4; ουθνεελνι (an interesting form pre-
supposing וּתְנַהֲלֵנִי, comp. my "Notes on Semitic Grammar," III,
AJSL., XIX (1902), 45 ff.) / וּתְנַחֲלֵנִי 30:4; ου.βσαλη וּבְצַלְעִי
34:15; ουβμσφατι / וּבְמִשְׁפָּט 88:31; ουλμαν וּלְמַעַן 30:4. Note,
however, with α: ουμασανυεαϊ וּמִשְׁנְאַי 17:41; ουβαμωτ וּבָמֹת
45:3; with ε: ουβερωβ וּבְרָב 48:7. Quite peculiar are: ουαλσωνι
וּלְשׁוֹנִי 34:28; ουαρημ וּרְעֵם 27:9.

(γ) $\frac{}{\cdot}$ $\frac{}{\cdot}$ in the middle of a word. The second $\frac{}{\cdot}$ may be expressed by a vowel: ουϊερογου וַיְחָרֵגוּ 17:46; μεμαστ(r. γ)ω-ρωθεειμ מִמְּסְגְרוֹתֵיהֶם 17:46; so also ιεζεβου יַעְזְבוּ / יֶעֶזְבוּ 17:46. But we find examples with no vowel for the second $\frac{}{\cdot}$: μισχνωθαμ מִשְׁכְּנוֹתָם 48:12; ιεσμου יִשְׁמְחוּ 45:4; ιεμρου יְחָמְרוּ 45:4; ϊφρου יַחְפְּרוּ 34:26. Note μσχνη מִשְׁכְּנֵי 45:5; prob. r. μεσχνη. Inter-esting are ιεσεμου יִשְׂמְחוּ 34:24 and ικερσου יְקַרְצוּ 34:19 which I explain on the analogy of Syriac forms with the ܡܚܣ as segolatized forms = iisemḫū, iikerṣū, comp. the parallel forms from first laryngeals: יַעְזְבוּ and the like.

(d) in the middle of a word under a geminate consonant. The examples available are: ζωημερου (sic) זָמְרוּ 29:5; θεσσερηνι תִּצְרֵנִי 31:7; ουμασαννεαϊ וּבְמַשְׁוָּאֵי 17:41; ονεθαζερηνι, ουθεζορηνι וַתְאַזְּרֵנִי 29:12; 17:40; φελλετηνι פַּלְּטֵנִי 30:2; without vowel: εθνηου אֶתְּנָהוּ 88:28; μεχφεριμ מְכַפְּרִים; βεσανει בְּשַׁוֵּעִי 30:23; ϊεσανου יְשַׁוֵּעוּ 17:42; with the laryngeal ignored: χαβημωθ כַּבְּהֵמוֹת 48:13; ουνεσσημ וְנַשְּׂאָם 27:9; ουχεσσω וְכִסָּאוֹ 88:30, 37, 45.

(e) $\frac{}{\cdot}$ after a vowel with מֶתֶג ($\frac{}{|}$). As a rule no vowel! Thus with $\frac{}{\cdot}$: αμρου אָמְרוּ 34:21; ασσα עָשְׂתָה 30:10; σαμου שָׁמְחוּ 34:15; ταμνου טָמְנוּ 30:5; with $\frac{}{\cdot\cdot}$: ηρφου חֶרְפּוּ 88:52 bis; with $\frac{}{\cdot}$: ασσωμριμ הַשֹּׁמְרִים 30:7; ιωμρου יֹאמְרוּ 34:25, 27; μεῖωρδη = מִיוֹרְדִי / מִיוֹרְדִי 29:4; ωβρη עָבְרֵי 88:42; οιβαχ אוֹיְבֶיךָ 88:52; οιβαυ אוֹיְבָיו 88:43. But we find also a vowel: ιουχαλευ יְכֻלּוּ 17:39; οϊεβαϊ, οϊεββαϊ אֹיְבֵי 17:38, 41; 29:2; with a follow-ing laryngeal: αββωτεειμ הַבְּטֻחִים 48:7; contrast σωνη (sic) שֹׂנְאֵי 34:19. On the whole therefore agreement with the tradi-tion of the Jewish grammarians. Compare on the subject BAER, תורת אמת, p. 9, footnote **, where further proof is adduced from the system of accentuation.

(f) for $\frac{}{\cdot}$ followed by ` we have the following examples: βιεδ בְּיַד 30:9; βιαδαθ (sic) בְּיָדְךָ 30:6; χιαρη פִּיְרָה 88:38, apparently without vowel.

(h) Comp. ισωβαβεννου יְסוֹבְבֶנּוּ 31:10; θεσωβαβηνι תְּסוֹבְבֵנִי 31:7; αραρι הָרְרִי 29:8. Contrast εελλελεχ אֲהַלְלֶךָ 34:18.— εμαραθ for אָמְרַת 17:31 may be explained as אָמְרָה (אָמְרַת).—

Examples for הֲמ: αμμααζερηνι הַמְאַזְרֵנִי 17:33; λαμανασση לַמְנַצֵּחַ 30:1; 35:1; 45:1; 48:1; but αμμηαλιμ הַמְיֶחֱלִים.

(*i*) ⸻ ⸻ at the end of the word. While an example in the Hebrew covered by the new Hexaplar material does not appear to be available, numerous examples are found in consequence of two causes: (1) the ending ⸻ of the second person masc. sing. perf. is in late Aramaic and Syriac fashion transformed to ⸻, hence arise forms like σαμθ / שַׂמְתָ 88:41; φαρασθ / פָּרַצְתָ 88:41; μαγαρθ / מִגַּרְתָה 88:45 and the like, although we also meet with ⸻ retained, e. g. σαφανθα צָפַנְתָה 30:7; 88:48; (*b*) the mono-syllabic form of segolates. Examples abound, e. g. αρς אֶרֶץ 34:20; 45:7; 88:28; δερχ דֶּרֶךְ 88:42; εσδ חֶסֶד 31:10; ζεχρ זֵכֶר 29:5; βοκρ בֹּקֶר 45:6 and the like (though forms like ιεθερ יֶתֶר 30:24 are also met with); with middle laryngeals: χας כַּעַס 30:10; σακ שָׂחַק 88:38; with third laryngeals: νεσ נֵצַח 88:47. Hence σα the Hebrews were apparently capable of pronouncing ⸻⸻ at the end of a syllable (word) without inserting a parasitic vowel.

The manner of transcribing the הֲטֵפִין, though I have col-lected all the examples, need not be discussed here as it is foreign to my present purpose.

To sum up, over against the rules of BEN ASHER and ḤAIŪG which no doubt represent the scholastic tradition of the Tiberian Masoretes, the Hexaplar transcriptions reveal a state of pronuncia-tion by no means fixed. In some instances the Masoretic rules are substantiated, notably in the pronunciation of the ⸻ after בְּתַג (ασσωμριμ הַשֹּׁמְרִים and the like); the assimilation of the ⸻ to the vowel over a laryngeal may also be witnessed as a tendency; but on the whole, *a* and *ε* are comparatively speaking by no means as frequent representations of the vocal ⸻ as is the absence of a vowel altogether. In the latter point the Hexaplar pronunciation approaches the current Ashkenazic one, which however is proved as old by Origen's transcription of the very first word of Scrip-ture: βρησιθ (also Jerome: *bresith*, s. FIELD *ad locum*). SIEVERS (*Metrische Studien*, I, §§ 5, 2; 211; 212; 218; 213; 220) has on metrical grounds done away with the "Schwa medium" in מַלְכֵי, לַמְלָכִים, וַיְהִי, הִנְנִי and the "vocal schwa" in וַיְהִי דְבַר, דִּבְּרוּ, and the like); that it could be

missed at the very opening of the discourse is proved by βρησιθ. The tendency toward "silencing" the "vocal" שְׁוָא is old; in Origen's times it was on the ascendant. As the נֵעירָה proves, the *allegro* or *lento* pronunciation was dictated by the musical recitation (accentuation), which naturally varied according to the context. The segolatization itself is but an example of *lento* pronunciation; how far it obtained in the times of Origen, has been shown above. In a living pronunciation, not yet regulated by rule, the old and the new will be found one by the side of the other; compared with the Masoretic tradition, the Hexaplar pronunciation of Hebrew is in some respects more archaic, and in others more modern.

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## A SUGGESTION AS TO THE FIRST FORM OF
## II KINGS 13

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By the "first form" of this chapter is meant the form given it by the first Deuteronomic editor (commonly called $R^D$) in his work, which is generally recognized to have contained less material than the present book of Kings. The aim of this article will be two-fold: (a) To determine those parts of the chapter which are later than $R^D$, together with their sources; and (b) to exhibit the form of the chapter as originally written by $R^D$, through the elimination of these later portions, and the restoration of what remains to its proper order.

a) The chapter, as it stands, divides itself into: (1) an account of the reign of Jehoahaz of Israel, vv. 1–9; (2) an account of the reign of Jehoash of Israel, vv. 10–13, 22–25; and (3) the stories of the death of Elisha and of the miraculous efficacy of his bones, vv. 14–21, which separate the narrative concerning Jehoash into two parts.

In (1), vv. 1, 2 present the regular $R^D$ formula for the beginning of a reign of the Northern Kingdom while vv. 8, 9 do the same for the end of a reign. V. 7 is generally regarded as having been drawn from an earlier historical source by $R^D$. Upon vv. 4–6 opinion is

divided, some recent authorities, as Benzinger[1] and Skinner,[2] holding them to be later than R[D], and others, as Burney[3] and Kent,[4] to be simply R[D]'s comment.   V. 3 Kent holds to be R[D], while Benzinger, Burney, and Skinner would assign it to his earlier historical source, although Skinner is not entirely satisfied so to do, as will appear presently.   The problem of vv. 3–6 centers in the determination of the person referred to in the "For he" of v. 7, "For he left not to Jehoahaz," etc.   Who is "he"?   Manifestly it is no one mentioned in vv. 5, 6, which probably accounts for the putting of these two verses in parenthesis by the English Revisers of 1885 and the American Revisers of 1901, an arrangement, however, which ignores the internal connection between vv. 4 and 5, and still leaves the "he" ambiguous.   Benzinger and Skinner both make clear the unity of vv. 4 and 5, and refer the "he" back to v. 3, not v. 4, but their agreement ends here, since Benzinger is sure that "he" is the king of Syria, and Skinner equally certain that "he" can mean only Jahweh.   Burney avoids the difficulty very cleverly by taking the construction of v. 7 as impersonal, "For there was not left to Jehoahaz," etc., and as he can cite the renderings of LXX, Luc., Vulg. and Syriac in support of his position, as well as Hebrew parallels, he makes out a strong case.   Kent avoids the force of the כִּי by translating v. 7, "*And* he left not," etc.

None of these solutions serve to clear up beyond question the identity of the one referred to in the "for he," and therefore the present writer ventures to suggest another, which involves a new theory as to the first form of the whole chapter.   His start is taken from the work of Benzinger and Skinner, who, in contending for the unity of vv. 4 and 5, bring out an element in those verses which argues rather for the unity of vv. 3–5.   Indeed, Skinner seems to appreciate this, for he hints at his impression of the unity of vv. 3–5, and does not find satisfaction in the analysis he finally accepts. This common element, which Benzinger recognizes in vv. 4 and 5, and Skinner in vv. 3–5 (but without following up), is found in certain phrases which strongly suggest the editorial framework of

[1] A. T., *Kurzer Hand-Commentar*, "Könige," 1899, p. 162.

[2] *New Century Bible*, "Kings," pp. 347 f.

[3] *Notes on the Hebr. Text of Kings*, 1903, pp. 315, 316.

[4] *Student's O. T.*, Vol. II, 1905, pp. 246, 247.

Judges. Thus, v. 3: "And the anger of Jahweh was kindled against Israel, and He delivered them into the hand of," cf. Judg. 2:14, and also Judg. 3:8 and 10:7, where "sold" occurs instead of "delivered." Again, v. 4: "The king of Syria *oppressed* them." This same word for oppress, לֹחֵץ, is found in Judg. 2:18 and 10:12 following the phrase "And the anger of Jahweh," etc., as here. Once more, v. 5: "And Jahweh gave Israel a Saviour," cf. Judg. 3:9 and 3:15, where the phrase is: "Jahweh *raised up* a Saviour," a very slight difference. The parallelism of these verses, II Kings 13:3–5, with Judges is most strikingly exhibited by placing them side by side with one particular series of verses from that book, which has just been quoted under the several phrases, viz.: Judg. 3:8, 9. It is true that in this passage "the children of Israel *cried unto* Jahweh," while Jehoahaz "*besought* Jahweh"—Brown-Driver-Briggs *Lexicon* "appeased Jahweh"—a different expression, but nevertheless the parallelism is very striking, and can hardly be accidental.

As against Kent, who holds that v. 3 belongs to $R^D$, and Burney, Benzinger, and, reluctantly, Skinner, who hold that it was drawn by $R^D$ from an earlier historical source, the writer, then, would contend, on the basis of its like parallelism with phrases from the editorial framework of Judges, that v. 3 goes with vv. 4, 5, and is later than $R^D$.

It is significant just here that the phrase: "And the anger of Jahweh was kindled against Israel" does not occur elsewhere in the book of Kings,[5] although the phrase that generally precedes it in Judges: "And the children of Israel did that which was evil in the sight of Jahweh," adapted to the individual king, is one of $R^D$'s stock expressions. This would seem to make against $R^D$'s authorship of the phrase here, and so against his writing of v. 3. And as to the more usual theory that v. 3 was drawn by $R^D$ from his earlier historical source, while it is very evident that to say somebody's "anger was kindled" was the usual phrase in the historical books, when that idea was to be set forth, and while further the phrase: "And the anger of Jahweh was kindled" occurs in Exod., Num., Deut., and Sam., and even the phrase: "And the anger of Jahweh was kindled against Israel," in Num. 25:3 and 32:13, and, with

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[5] For the nearest approach to it, see II Kings 23:26.

another form of the verb, in II Sam. 24:1—some of which passages
would doubtless be classed as from early sources—still it is to be
observed that the *whole phrase* of v. 3: "And the anger of Jahweh
was kindled . . . . and He delivered . . . . into the hand of" is
found *only* here and in Judg. 2:14, in what might be called the
editor's preface. This being so, even though the *possibility* that
v. 3 was drawn by R$^D$ from earlier historical material cannot be
denied, the balance of *probability* would seem to incline to the view of
the present writer that v. 3 belongs with vv. 4, 5, and is later than R$^D$.

V. 6, the only verse of (1) remaining, is of no importance in this
particular discussion. It may well be a later gloss upon v. 4, as
Benzinger suggests. Its clumsy repetition of a part of v. 2 shows
that it is, at any rate, later than R$^D$, and so an addition to his text.
To sum up, then, the results of the discussion thus far, Benzinger and
Skinner hold that II Kings 13:4, 5 are from an editor or redactor
later than R$^D$—call him R$^J$ for convenience—whose phraseology is
modeled on that of the editor of the Book of Judges. The present
writer agrees entirely with them, but he would add v. 3 to those
assigned to R$^J$, and his analysis of vv. 1–9 would therefore be:

Vv. 1–2, R$^D$'s formula.
Vv. 3–5, a later addition by R$^J$.
V. 6, a still later gloss.
V. 7, R$^D$'s extract from an earlier source.
Vv. 8–9, R$^D$'s formula.

(2) At the outset of the account of Jehoash's reign—vv. 10–13,
22–25—occurs R$^D$'s familiar introductory formula, vv. 10, 11, to
which vv. 12–13 supply a very startling continuation, to say the
least, since they summarily terminate Jehoash's life and activities,
in phrases all but identical with R$^D$'s concluding formula, before
they have been well started. Manifestly, something is wrong with
these verses (12, 13). Either, as Kent suggests, they are a late
addition, made by a copyist who failed to note the entirely regular
R$^D$ formula for the end of Jehoash's reign at 14:15–16, or, they are
genuine, but misplaced, parts of R$^D$'s work, belonging properly
where they are actually found in Lucian's text, at the end of the
thirteenth chapter, after vv. 24, 25.

Either theory is beset with difficulties, though the present writer
is inclined to accept Lucian's text here, as affording the better solu-

tion of the two. If, indeed, the very tempting hypothesis that
14:8–16 originally formed a part of the narrative of *Jehoash* and
not, as it stands, of *Amaziah*, coming after 13:25—if this could be
successfully maintained, then the view that 13:12, 13 is a late addi-
tion would be preferable; but the implications of 14:1–7 probably
preclude such a transposition of verses. Regarding vv. 22–25,
vv. 22, 24, 25 are most naturally taken as a part of $R^D$'s work,
extracts from his earlier historical source. They certainly read
like other verses which are so classified elsewhere in the book, and
are generally so assigned.

V. 23 is a didactic comment in a vein a shade more diffuse than
$R^D$ allows himself, and is assigned by Benzinger to the same $R^J$
who has been already described in connection with vv. 3–5.
Benzinger is followed in this by Skinner, and the present writer
accepts their conclusions, which also include, it may be added, the
assignment of vv. 26, 27 of chap. 14 to this same $R^J$. (Note the
expression "Saved" in 14:27, parallel to the "Saviour" of 13:5.)
The analysis of (2), then, would be as follows:

Vv. 10, 11, $R^D$'s formula.
Vv. 12, 13, misplaced verses, probably belonging after v. 25.
V. 22, $R^D$'s extract from an earlier source.
V. 23, a later addition by $R^J$.
Vv. 24, 25, $R^D$'s extract from an earlier source.

(3) The present writer will hardly need to say, after the analyses
of (1) and (2) just given, that he holds the Elisha stories of vv. 14–19
and vv. 20, 21 to be insertions in the text, and later than $R^D$. This
assumption is, indeed, vital to his theory of the original form of the
chapter, but, entirely apart from that consideration, it is not by
any means an unlikely one. There is evident in the Elijah and
Elisha narratives in Kings a freedom and picturesqueness of style
foreign to $R^D$, generally ascribed to the influence of oral transmission,
and it is surely very possible that they are later insertions in $R^D$'s
work. Hence, while the assumption, in the very nature of the case,
can never be proved, the possibility of its correctness is enough to
justify the present writer in developing his theory of the chapter.
And the same is true of the further assumption, likewise essential to
the writer's theory, that these Elisha stories were inserted in the chap-
ter at a time later even than $R^J$. The number of redactions through

which such a book as Kings passed before reaching its present form can never be so absolutely determined as to preclude such a possibility, and in the manifest confusion of the present text of the chapter, any theory which will bring order out of chaos, provided it be not an utterly impossible one, is worth following out. The writer's analysis of (3) would then be:

Vv. 14–19, 20–21, Elisha stories, inserted by a redactor later than both R$^D$ and R$^J$.

*b*) The data therefor having been assembled by the above analysis, the reconstruction of the first (R$^D$'s) form of the chapter will now be attempted. First of all, of course, came vv. 1, 2, beginning the account of Jehoahaz's reign in R$^D$'s usual manner. Then, since vv. 3–6 are by hypothesis later than R$^D$, would come v. 7, R$^D$'s extract from his earlier historical source. But v. 7 forms the conclusion of a sentence, whose beginning is manifestly *not* vv. 1, 2. Its first word is "*for.*" This gap must be bridged, somehow, and only verses assigned to R$^D$ by the foregoing analysis, of course, are available for doing it. Vv. 8, 9 are R$^D$'s, but they find their proper place after, not before, v. 7, in concluding the account of Jehoahaz's reign, and vv. 12, 13, probably also R$^D$'s, while out of place where they stand, concern Jehoash, not Jehoahaz, and would not fit here anyway. Vv. 14–21 also concern Jehoash in a way and are by hypothesis later than R$^D$. This brings v. 22 into consideration as next in order, and also, by the analysis, an extract by R$^D$ from his earlier historical source, which being likewise the case with v. 7, the two verses have that much in common, at least. It is also to be noted that v. 22 seems out of place where it stands, and is not really needed to explain vv. 24, 25. (V. 23 is later than R$^D$ by hypothesis.) If v. 22, then, be inserted between v. 2 and v. 7, the whole R$^D$ passage concerning Jehoahaz, beginning with v. 1, would read as follows: "In the three and twentieth year of Joash . . . . Jehoahaz . . . . began to reign . . . . and he did that which was evil. . . . . And Hazael King of Syria oppressed Israel all the days of Jehoahaz. For there was not left to Jehoahaz[6] of the people save fifty horsemen . . . . for the king of Syria destroyed them. . . . . Now the rest of the acts of Jehoahaz, and all that he did . . . . and Joash his son reigned in his stead."

[6] Burney's rendering, see under (1) in *a*.

The present writer would contend that this restoration is entirely in the manner of $R^D$, as he again and again combines his extracts from earlier sources with his familiar formulae, to describe the reigns of the different kings of Israel. It provides, moreover, a perfectly clear antecedent to the "for" or "for he" of v. 7 in: "Hazael king of Syria oppressed Israel, . . . ." and that, too, without breaking into the manifest unity of vv. 3–5, as all other theories of the passage do. Before suggesting on what principle $R^J$ worked in displacing v. 22 and inserting vv. 3–5 in its place, it will be well to complete the first form of the entire chapter according to the theory of the present writer. Thus far, it is contended, $R^D$'s original order ran: vv. 1–2, 22, 7–9. This finished the account of Jehoahaz. Vv. 10, 11 followed vv. 8, 9 as now, beginning the account of Jehoash's reign, and then came vv. 24, 25, continuing that account, with vv. 12, 13, probably,[7] to bring it to an end in the usual manner of $R^D$ and to close the original chap. 13. The assumptions involved herein, respecting vv. 12–13, 23, and 14–21, have already been discussed.

This then—i. e., 13:1–2, 22, 7–11, 24–25, 12–13 (probably)—was the passage $R^D$ composed, and $R^J$ found and modified, accord-to the theory, by the insertion of vv. 3–5 and 23. What was the principle upon which $R^J$ worked? Can his process of reasoning be so far recovered as to render such insertions by him probable? The writer is persuaded that it can be, substantially as follows: While reading $R^D$'s work one day, he noticed what *appeared to him* to be a contradiction in the statement of v. 22—which then, it will be remembered, stood next to v. 2, and concerned Jehoahaz—as compared with that of v. 25—which then, with v. 24, followed immediately after v. 11, and concerned Jehoash. V. 22 says that "*Hazael* King of Syria oppressed Israel all the days of Jehoahaz," but v. 25 says that: "Jehoash the son of Jehoahaz took again out of the hand of *Ben-hadad* the son of Hazael the cities which he had taken out of the hand of Jehoahaz." "How can that be," thought $R^J$, "if *Hazael* oppressed Israel *all the days of* Jehoahaz?" And therefore he determined to correct $R^D$'s blunder. But $R^J$ noted another thing in v. 22. It says that Hazael "oppressed" (לָחַץ) Israel and this rare word at once recalled to $R^J$ the familiar passages

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[7] So Lucian's text. See the discussion in *a*), (2).

in Judges where it is also used. If now there be added to these two components of R$^J$'s state of mind, a third which has been suggested by Skinner, i. e., a great admiration for king Jeroboam II, proof of which is found in 14:26, 27, it is reasonably clear why he put vv. 3–5 in the place of v. 22, and why also vv. 3–5 took the form they did. R$^J$ wished first of all to correct R$^D$'s historical slip by making Ben-hadad also, as well as his father Hazael, an oppressor of Israel in the days of Jehoahaz (see v. 3), and while he was doing that, he thought he would improve the opportunity to enlarge upon R$^D$ by an improving story, told after the manner of Judges, which should picture Jehoahaz as humbling himself under Jahweh's chastening hand, and thus helping to bring to Israel a "Saviour," in the person of his (R$^J$'s) great hero, Jeroboam II (see v. 5; cf. 14:27).

So much for R$^J$'s insertion of vv. 3–5 in place of v. 22. What, now, should he do with v. 22? Should he suppress it altogether? Why do that, now that he has corrected any misconception to which it might give rise? Rather, let it come in as a fitting introduction to the conquests of Jehoash, and as a peg on which to hang a further word of encouragement. So he inserts it after the beginning of the account of Jehoash (v. 11), and writes v. 23 in comment, having in mind Jehoash's victories, and advancing toward his climax in the greater deeds of Jeroboam II. Burney notes that Lucian's text puts v. 23 after v. 7, and prefers that order as easier to account for than the present text, but he does not follow Benzinger and Skinner in holding to a later redaction by R$^J$, as does the writer. Lucian's variant order may well be taken as a further indication of the confusion of the text of chap. 13—already undeniably evident from other verses, e. g., 12–13—without giving it the preference over the Massoretic text here.

In conclusion, it will be desirable to place side by side chap. 13 as left by R$^D$, and as left by R$^J$, thus (reading continuously in either case):

R$^D$, vv. 1–2, 22, 7–11, 24–25, 12–13.
R$^J$, vv. 1–5, 7–11, 22–25, 12–13.

Later hands inserted v. 6 and vv. 14–21 in the chapter, and changed the position of vv. 12–13.

# A HOMILY BY MOSES BAR CEPHA

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INTRODUCTION

The author of this homily, Moses bar Cepha, better known under his acquired name of Severus, is a familiar Jacobite character in the Christian church in Syria. Born in the village of Meshad al-Kohail on the Tigris about 813 A. D., he was one of the most voluminous writers of Syriac literature, having written commentaries on the entire Old and New Testaments, disputations against heresies, a treatise on the soul, numerous sermons and homilies, and discourses on all the feasts of the church.

We have here the text[1] and translation of one of these homilies, catalogued in Vol. CCVI of the *Manuscrits orientaux*, H. Zotenburg, 1874, copied in the summer of 1905 in the Bibliotheque Nationale. This is a specimen of the later Syriac; the repeated recurrence of the ـحـ and ـب, as well as the not infrequent use of Greek words, and the long-drawn-out protases and apodoses betray Greek influence and also the effort on the part of the author to lend a dignity fitting his great theme. The great number of philosophical and logical premises are also examples of the assimilation of the Greek form of thought with an entire lack of its content. As to the subject-matter, one must say, as did Renan long ago, the predominant characteristic of the Syrian is a certain mediocrity. This homily is a fair example of empty phraseology. Obedient to the homiletic rule of all ages, when the preacher has little to say, he quotes Scripture or repeats the same thought in other words. If the form and style of the composition show Greek influence, so the content is perfectly Jewish in nature. The symbolizing and parallelizing of the Talmudic and Rabbinical writings find a counterpart here. It is an example of a style of Bible interpretation which has predominated through all

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[1] I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor C. C. Torrey for his corrections of several mistakes in the transcription of the Syriac text and of faulty translations of several passages.

the history of the Church and which only now is happily passing away. As a specimen of the thought and style of the head of an isolated church of the ninth century it is not without interest. Whether of value or not, its contents challenge our respect for the unwavering and fervent faith of this old soldier of the cross who spent the fourscore years and ten of his life combating the "lying heresies" and fighting the good fight with a steadfastness and rigor which have won him for all time the name of "The Severe."

TEXT

ܘܕ: ܡܣܠܡܝ ܘܗܕܡܟܢ ܐܠܐ ܠܐܝܠܐ ܡܢ ܐܠܐ ܘܡܕܗܡܐ ܘܡܠܟ ܥܘܟ

ܘܥܠܐ ܡܡܝܐ ܥܘܡܕܡܐ [5] ܐܝܠܐ ܡܝܝܬܐܐ. ܐܝܠܐ ܠܐ ܐܘܕܐ ܣܟܡܠܘܕ

ܥܟܡ ܐܝܕܘܕܐ ܘܟܕܡܐ ܗܒܝ ܐܝܒܝ ܗܒܐ ܘܐܡܕ: ܗܒܡܝܘܐ ܗܒ ܩܠܡܡܐ ܗܘ

ܐܝܟܟ ܘܝ ܐܝܒܝ ܐܝܘܐ ܣܘܡܗܐ ܟܡܡܒ ܘܥܡܕܐ ܐܝ [10]: ܗܒܝ ܘܥܡܡܐ ܐ

ܩܠܡܡܐ ܗܡܟܢ ܘܟܕܡܐ: ܐܝܒܝ ܘܝ ܐܝܘܐ ܣܘܡܗܐ: ܐܝܒܝ ܘܝ ܐܝܘܐ ܩܠܡܡܐ ܐܘܕ ܐܡܝ.

ܟܡ ܐܝܠܐ ܡܠܐܝܙܟ ܐܝܟܟܘ ܐܡܐ ܐܝܠܐ ܥܟ ܥܠܐ ܘܐܡܕ ܡܥܠܐܐ ܟܟܐ

 [15] ܐܝܡܐ ܐܡܝ ܐܝܠܡܟ ܟܡܡܟܘܬܐ: ܥܡ ܐܡܕ ܟܐ ܘܠܘ

ܠܘܡܒ ܟܡܡܟܟܟܐ: ܟܘܡܥܐ ܘܡܟܡ ܠܘܘܡܒ. ܥܐ ܡܝܟܟ ܗ ܘܐܡܕ

ܟܐ: ܘܟܡܡܐ [20] ܐܝܙܡܝ ܟܐܟܡ ܟܘ ܩܝ ܐ. ܗܘ ܡܟܡ ܡܡܣܠܒ:

ܐܝܙܝܐ ܣܝܗ ܡܟܡܝ ܥܟ ܠܘܩܐܐ. ܐܝܘ ܥܟܡܟܟܐ ܗ ܘܣܟܡܐܐ ܠܡܡܘܥ

ܟܡܟܟܘܡܗܐ. ܗܘ ܣܡܡ ܥܡ ܗܟܡܐ ܥܟܐ [25] ܐܝܙܝܐܘ ܟܘܥܡܐ

ܟܡܡܒ. ܘܠܘ ܥܟܡܟ ܐܘ ܘܡܟܡ ܘܝܝܡܟܢ ܘܝ ܐܡܘ ܘܥܘ ܟܘ ܣܥ ܗܘ ܟܡܡ

ܘܐܡܝ. ܗܘ ܐܝܡܟܟ ܘܝܝ. ܐܝܙܝ[30] ܟܘܥܡܐ ܣܥܡ. ܐܘ ܥܟܝ ܥܟ

ܗ ܘܝ ܟܘܐܐ ܘܟ ܥܡ ܥܙܝܡ: ܡܡܟܟܝ ܘ ܐܥܐ: ܐܝܐ ܐܝ ܗܝܐ ܡܡܝܘ ܥܟ

ܥܠ ܐܡܡܟܟ ܟܘܡܟ ܥܟܝܡܡ ܟܟ ܟܐ ܗܘ [35] ܘܠܘ ܐܝ

ܟܡܡܟܡ ܟܘܝܡ ܘܣܡܠ ܘܟܟܡ ܠܩܡܐ: ܘܠܘ ܟܟܟ ܐܝܟ ܟܐ ܟܐ

ܟܠܡ. ܗ ܘ ܐܝܡܙܝ ܗܘ ܐܝܙܝ ܩܟܟ ܐܝ ܐ ܣܡܐ ܟܟ ܥܟ: ܥܟ

[40] ܥܘܡ ܘܡܡ ܘܟܘܘܟ. ܗ ܘܝ ܟܟ ܐܡܐ ܥܟ ܗܟܟ ܟܟ ܐ ܐܝܐܙ

ܠܡܣܒ ܕܐܝܠܝܕܐ ܘܪܘܚܐ ܘܐܬܢܙܠܝ ܀ ܘܒܝܕ ܕܠܐ ܐܝܬܪ ܠܗ
ܢܘܠܐ ܀ ܡܠܬܐ ܩܒܠ [45] ܠܬܪܬܝܢܘܬܐ ܕܩܦܝ ܘܐܪܙܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܀ ܐܝܟ ܓܝܪ ܀ ܗܘ
ܕܗܘܡܗܐ ܗܠܟ ܓܐܠܝܟ ܠܟܘ ܓܙܐ ܘܐܣܬܪܘ ܀ ܗܟܢ ܀ ܪܘܚܢܐ ܡܣܐܠܐ
ܡܘܣܐ ܀ ܘܠܩܦܝ ܐܪܙܢܐ ܠܟܢ ܠܬܪܬܝܢܘܬܐ [50] ܕܐܬܢܙ ܀ ܘܐܡܠܠ ܗܘܐ
ܠܟ ܓܙܐ ܀ ܗܘ ܐܝܬ ܐܡܪܝܢ ܫܬܐ ܘܐܬܠܬܐ ܬܝܡܝܬܘ ܣܘܡܥܘܢܘܝ ܗܘ ܀ ܐܘ
ܪܗܘܒܐ ܗܘܐ ܗ ܠܟ ܀ ܡܘܣܐ ܐܣܬܠܐ ܐܪܙܡܕܡ ܗܦܝܐ [55] ܘܠܕܘܦܝ
ܠܣܪܝܟܐ ܘܡܠܟ ܀ ܘܡܘܪܟܐ ܕܠܟܬܐ ܠܬܪܬܝܢܘܬܐ ܘܠܟܠܝ ܠܩܦܝ ܀ ܥܠܝ ܗܘ
ܕܐܬܡܠܟ ܡܘܣܐ ܀ ܕܬܘܡܟܠܐ ܐܪܙܡܐ ܥܕܬ ܀ ܘܥܠܝ ܗܘ ܘܐܬܢܙ
[60] ܠܟ ܡܠܬܐ ܀ ܡܬܡܠܐ ܀ ܠܠܟ ܕܘܪܟܐ ܘܕܪܝ ܠܗܘܐ ܀
ܗܘ ܕܡܬܡܕܘܦܟܐ ܐܡܝ ܡܠܬܐ ܀ ܐܠܐ ܕܘܪܟܐ ܘܠܟܠܝ ܠܬܡܘܢ ܀ ܘܥܕܘܕܘܠܐ
ܠܬܪܬܝܢ [65] ܬܠܝ ܀ ܕܒܘܪܟܝ ܡܘܪܟܐ ܗܘ ܀ ܘܠܠܐ ܠܬܪܬܝܢܝ ܠܩܦܝ ܀ ܬܠܐ
ܗܘ ܀ ܘܠܕܡܬܡܠܝ ܠܟ ܗ ܓܙܐ ܀ ܗܠܐ ܗܘ ܀ ܘܠܡܙܐ ܐܬܬ ܡܣܐܠܝ ܀ ܠܢܘܡܣܝ
ܥܕܢܘܝ ܐܝܬ ܘܐܬܢܙ ܀ ܘܡܬܡܣܝ [70] ܗܟܡܝ ܠܬܪܬܝ ܣܬܘܙܐ ܘܡܠܐܬܐ ܀ ܐܬܢܙ
ܐܠܐ ܕܒ ܗܘ ܕܗܘܡܗܐ ܠܟ ܓܙܐ ܀ ܗܕ ܀ ܗܘܗܦ ܘܐܪܙܐ ܡܣܐܠܝ ܀ ܠܟܬܡ
ܠܗܘܐ ܀ ܡܣܐܠܬ ܕܠܐ ܠܚܣܣ ܠܬܡܬܟܠܟܠܗ [75] ܕܘܪܟܐ ܘܕܪܝ ܠܬܡܘܢ ܀
ܐܬܢܙܡܠܝ ܀ ܠܟܬܐ ܀ ܗܬܪ ܀ ܘܟܡܐܝ ܗܘ ܀ ܠܟܬܬܐ ܀ ܘܠܣܣܟܪ ܠܟܬܘܦܟܡܠܐ ܐܣܬܡܬܐ
ܘܠܐܣܬܡܬܐ ܠܘܦܟܡܐ ܀ ܘܡܘܪܟܐ ܕܗܘ ܗ ܡܠܬܐ ܡܢ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܘܪܙܐ [80] ܣܘܕܝܠܐܬܟܡܣܣ ܀
ܐܬܪ ܠܝܡܢ ܀ ܡܠܬܐ ܀ ܘܡܣܐܢܐ ܡܣܬܗܙܢܐ ܠܐ ܠܡܠܐ ܀ ܗܟܬ ܕܘܪܙ ܗܕ ܐܬܢܙ ܀
ܠܟܪܘܡܠܐ ܀ ܘܥܕܝ ܠܦܠܥܬܠܐ ܠܟ ܗ ܗ ܣܡܙܥܐ ܀ ܘܐܬܢܙ ܀ ܠܟܘܡܥܢܬܐ ܠܚܢܕ ܥܠܝ ܀
[85] ܥܘܡܠ ܕܗܘ ܀ ܘܡܠܬܐ ܘܗܡܠܐ ܠܟܐ ܀ ܘܠܣܣܬܢܙ ܘܡܚܝ ܕܕ
ܘܠܐܣܬܣܠܐ ܘܠܦܠܘܪܙ ܥܠܝ ܀ ܡܣܐܢܐ ܡܣܐܢܐ ܀ ܗܘ ܣܡܝܐ ܘܐܬܢܙ ܘܠܟܣܠܟܠܐ
[90] ܢܘܡܣܐ ܕܗܘܕ ܠܚܕܟ ܗ ܀ ܠܟܠܐ ܣܘܪܙܐ ܘܗܡܠ ܬܐ ܀ ܡܘܪܟܝ ܠܟܘܡܪܟܐ
ܘܡܚܟܡ ܥܕܐ ܀ ܘܠܟܘܦܟܡܐܬܐ ܠܠܣܣܡܕ ܐܣܬܡܬܐ ܀ ܘܠܐܣܬܡܬܐ ܠܘܦܟܡܐܬܐ ܀
[95] ܠܟܠܐ ܠܟܠܣܣܬܐ ܘܡܢܝܠܐ ܀ ܡܠܬܐ ܠܐ ܥܢܙܡܣܬ ܠܟܣܣܬ ܘܡܣܐܠܝ
ܣܘܡܥܘܣܕ ܐܡܝ ܀ ܘܡܣܟܐ ܗܘܐ ܗܘ ܀ ܘܐܬܢܙܡܠܝ ܀ ܡܠܝܠܐ ܗܬܪ ܘܠܟܣܠܝܟ

[100] ܟܕ ܗܘ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܐܬܐ ܐܘܚܣܐ ܀ ܚܕܒ ܘܒܥܠܬܐ ܠܬܐܚܡܟ ܐܥܢܙ

ܠܕ ܀ ܣܝ ܗܘ ܀ ܘܟܪܙܐ ܥܩܥܗܢ ܡܣܠܒ ܀ ܀ ܀ ܀ ܘܐܣܙܟܐ ܗܘ ܀ ܘܠܐ ܠܬܚܣܐ

[105] ܠܐܥܥܟܟܐ ܟܘܥܐ ܘܟܪܙܐ ܡܥܢܗ ܡܣܠܒ ܀ ܀ ܀ ܀ ܘܐܘܙܟܐ ܡܢ

ܠܬܟܡܗܣܒ ܀ ܡܢܒ ܣܝ ܗܘ ܀ ܘܐܥܐ ܘܐܚܝܐ ܟܗ ܡܟܕܐ ܘܥܠܐܥܐ ܀ ܘܠܐ ܠܬܚܣܐ

[110] ܠܐܥܥܟܟܐ ܀ ܘܡܢܒ ܗܥܐ ܀ ܐܣܙܢܐ ܀ ܘܐܥܐ ܘܐܚܝܐ ܟܗ ܡܟܕܐ ܘܥܠܐܥܐ ܀

ܘܟܪܙܐ ܡܥܢܗ ܡܣܠܒ ܀ ܠܐ ܡܬܚܡܐ ܟܗ ܗܘ ܀ ܘܠܐ ܠܬܚܣܒ ܠܐܥܥܟܟܐ ܀ ܗܘ ܘ

[115] ܠܐ ܀ ܠܐ ܡܗܡܚܣܒ ܠܐܥܥܟܟܐ ܀ ܐܡܛܠܐ ܥܙܐ ܡܥܢܗ ܡܣܠܒ ܀ ܠܬܡܕܠܐ

ܣܝܐܟܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܚܡܐ ܀ ܚܡܪܙܐ ܡܥܣܗ ܟܐܥܪܡܐ ܀ ܚܢܒܒ ܡܢܬܒܠܐ ܘܐܘܙܟܐ

ܡܢܒ [120] ܡܟܚܣܒ ܀ ܡܬܪܐ ܟܕܒ ܀ ܡܢܬܒܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܀ ܗܐܠܐ ܡܠܐܡܐ ܡܟܐܟܐ

ܘܐܥܢܙ ܀ ܘܡܕܣܠܒ ܗܘ ܡܥܥܟܗ ܀ ܗܡܝ ܡܟܕܟܗ ܡܥܠܐܡܣܐ ܀ ܡܪܘܐܟ

ܠܐܘܬܟܡܕܡܒ ܟܕܒ ܘܟܪܙܐ [125] ܡܥܢܗ ܡܣܠܒ ܀ ܡܟܕܒ ܀ ܘܠܐ ܠܬܚܣܐ

ܠܐܥܥܟܟܐ ܀ ܟܘܥܐ ܟܕܒ ܘܟܪܙܐ ܡܥܢܗ ܡܣܠܒ ܀ ܠܬܐܪܡܕܡܒ ܗܡܢܙ

ܐܗܐܬܟܟܡܒ ܡܠܩܡܒ ܟܟܚܡܒ ܀ ܘܪܣܐ [130] ܡܥܠܐܡܒ ܠܐ ܠܥܟܕ ܟܠ

ܐܦܟܐ ܀ ܡܟܐ ܗܡܙ ܘܡܥܟܐܟ ܐܡܪܗ ܀ ܚܙܐܡܟܟܐ ܗܡܝ ܟܡܠܠܬ ܘܥܢܣܡܪܐ

ܘܡܡܟܟܡܗܐ ܠܐܠܐܘܟ ܐܣܙܡܟܐ ܘܐܡܠܐܡܐ ܗܐ ܀ ܐܗܕܒ [135] ܟܡܠܬ ܘܐܥܢܙ ܀

ܘܡܕܣܠܒ ܗܘ ܡܥܢܗ ܀ ܀ ܀ ܟ ܥܘܠ ܘܒܝ ܟܡܠܐܡܐ ܐܥܐܟ ܗܘ ܟܡܥܗܟ ܀

ܡܟܐܠܐ ܘܘܡܐܠܟܡܚܒ ܟܡܚܣܐ ܟܥܚܚܐ ܚܙܥܗܕ ܀ [140] ܐܡܪ ܘܐܥܢܙ ܐܟܚܗܐ

ܠܐܟܕܡܗܐ ܀ ܘܘܥܡܚܐ ܟܘ ܟܬܟܡܒ ܟܐܦܐ ܡܗܘܗܗ ܟܟܡܥܡܒ ܟܐ݇ܡܪ̈ܡܚܐ

ܡܗܙܚܐ ܀ ܐ݇ܘܒ ܗܘ ܘܐܦܒ ܘܡܐܟܡܥܚܒ ܡܪܐܟ ܀ ܟܡܚܥܐ [145] ܡܡܠܐܡܒ

ܐܡܗܙܐ ܀ ܀ ܀ ܀ ܚܡܐ ܘܟܕܣܠܐ ܀ ܟܡܗܙܐ ܟܝ݇ܥܟܐ ܚܟܡܕܡܗܘ ܟܡܠܐܡܒ ܀ ܟܣܡ

ܐ݇ܡܪ̈ܡܐ ܀ ܡܕܣܠܒ ܗܘ ܡܥܢܗ ܀ ܚܥܝ ܡܢܒ ܥܕܡܗܐ ܟܟܝܒ [150] ܡܟܡܟܟܠܐ ܀

ܘܘܙܡܐ ܘܡܒ ܀ ܐܥܙܡܐ ܡܗܡܚܣ ܡܢܒ ܡܟܡܟܟܠܐ ܀

ܟܟܕܐܐ ܘܟܡܕܡܐܐ ܘܐܡܛܠܐ ܥܕܟܣ ܐܥܙܡܐ ܀ ܀ ܀ ܡܕܣܡܣܠܒ ܟܡܟܣܕܘܙ ܀ ܐ݇ܘ

ܟܕܟܘܬܩܢܗ ܘܘܙܡܟܐ ܡܗܠܐ ܀ [155] ܡܕܣܠܒ ܗܘ ܡܥܢܗ ܀ ܐܠܐ ܟܟܕܥܐ

ܐܘܠܝܟܡܡܗܒܠܐ ܠܐ ܐܥܢܙ ܡܗܠܐ ܀ ܟܚ ܘܡܢܒ ܡܟܡܣܚܙܐ ܘܟܟܡܕܚܐܘܙ ܀ ܘܘܙܡܐ

ܩܠܟ ܕܥܠܐ: ܡܕܣܠܝ ܗܘ ܡܣܟ̈ܐ. ܘܡܪܡܬܐ [160] ܕܗ: ܡܚ ܗܘ
ܪܠܟܗ ܡܕܣܠܝ ܥܠܝܕܪ ܩܠܟ: ܟܐܪܙܡܐ ܡܗ̈ܣܣܟܬ ܗܘܐ ܡܣܟܬܐ
ܪܡܕܣܠܝ ܘܟܗ ܠܟܬܪܙܬܠܟܠܐ ܠܟܡܬܐ̈: ܗܘ ܪܗܪܙ ܡܡܟܟܬܘ ܟܣܐܬܐ
[165] ܪܘܗܣ ܩܪܪܗܒܝ ܡܕܣܠܝ. ܘܡܫܠܬܐ ܪܡܙ ܗܠܟܗ ܩܠܟ ܪܡܕܣܠܝ
ܠܐܣܪܐ: ܪܡܟܗ ܪܐܪܙܡܐ ܡܗ̈ܣܣܟܬ ܗܘܐ ܣܟܬܐ ܪܡܕܣܠܝ. ܣܘܗܘ ܪܐܪܙܐ ܟܬܐܪܙ
ܗܘ [170] ܪܩܡ ܐܚܙܬܙ ܠܟܡܟܠܐ ܪܡܕܣܠܝ ܠܐܣܪܐ: ܐܚܬܙܡܝ ܠܟܗ
ܪܠܟܗܐ ܥܡܙܗܟܕܗܪ ܐܠܗܕ ܪܥܬܐܪܙܡܝ ܩܘܡܟܐ ܗܠܐ. ܣܐܪ ܐܠܕ ܐܡܬܠܐ ܠܟܗ
ܠܐܠܟܗܡܟܬ̈ ܣܗܗܣܕܗ [175] ܡܥܣ̈ܡܕܐ ܠܟ̈ܡܥܬܐ ܪܡܕܣܠܝ ܗܠܟܗ
ܠܟܬܪܙܬܠܟܠܐ. ܘܗܠܐ ܠܟܨܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ ܪܗܐܦ ܟܐܪܙܡܐ ܠܟܗ ܩܠܟ ܪܡܕܣܠܝ
ܠܐܣܪܐ. ܠܟ̈ܪܗܡܡܟܝ ܪܡܙ ܪܐܪܙܡܐ ܗܘ [180] ܗܘ ܪܐܪܙܡܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܗ̈ܣܣܟܬ ܗܘܐ ܡܣܟܬܐ
ܪܡܕܣܠܝ: ܗܘ ܪܠܟܗ ܩܠܟ ܡܕܣܠܝ: ܗܘ̈ܗ ܪܠܟܗ ܩܠܟ ܪܡܕܣܠܝ
ܠܐܣܪܐ. ܠܟ̈ܪܗܡܟܬܐ ܩܪܪܗܒܝ ܪܠܟ̈ܗܡܡܟܝ ܗܪܙܗܡܐ [185] ܩܠܟ ܗܘܐ ܗܣܠܬܐ
ܐܪܙܡܐ: ܡܕܣܠܝ ܗܘ ܡܣܟܬܐ. ܩܐܗܣܟܐ ܪܠܐ ܠܟܡܐܠܟܕܠܬ ܠܟ ܠܟܠ ܗܣܟܬܐ
ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܪܡܡܙ ܠܟܗ ܠܟܡܗܟ ܪܗܐܣܟܬ ܣܗܣܥܡܪ ܠܟܡܗܟܬܐ: ܐܠܐ ܡܕܣܠܝ
[190] ܗܘ ܗܣܟܬܐ: ܐܡܪ ܪܐܗܐܕܣܗܟ ܗܟܝ ܡܟܠܐܟܐ ܩܣܡܟܐ ܩܪܘܗܣ ܩܪܪܗܒܝ.
ܘܡܟܬܒܠܟ ܪܐܪܙ ܡܪ ܗܡܣܟܬܐ ܐܡܠܟܝ ܪܥܠܣܡܡܟܝ ܗܘ̈ܗ: ܠܟ̈ܗܩܥ ܠܬܐ ܐܣܥܕ
ܠܟ ܠܐ ܐܪܙܡܐ: [195] ܠܟ̈ܗ ܠܬܐ ܪܡܙ ܪܐܬܐܟܬܗܟܗ ܪܗܟܝ ܟܘܪܘܗܣܪܗܙܬܠܟܠܐ ܠܟܡܬܐ̈
ܠܐ̈ܩܥܝ ܗܩܣܝ ܗܘ̈ܗ: ܗܠܟ ܗܟܠܬܐ ܪܐܪܙܡܐ. ܩܣܡܟܬܐ ܗܘܐ ܪܩܣܠܟܩܣܡܝ ܠܟ̈ܟܗܣܐ:
ܪܠܟܗܐ ܐܡܗ ܥܡܙܗܟܕܗܣܝ [200] ܪܥܬܐܪܙܡܝ ܩܘܡܟܐ ܗܠܐ: ܐܗܣܟܐ ܪܐܗ̈ܩܣܗ
ܠܟ ܠܐ̈ ܠܟܡܗܟܬ̈.

ܠܟܗܠܐ ܣܗܣܗ̈ܡܡܟܬܐ ܪܗܣ̈ܟܡܥܠ ܐܡܗ ܠܟܗܟܐ ܠܟ ܠܟ ܠܟ̈ܡܫܠܬܐ ܠܟܗ̈ܣܟܬܐ
ܠܟܡܕܣܠܝ: ܐܡܗ ܪܐܗܣܙ ܗܟܠܐܟܐ: ܐܢܐ ܐܡܗ̈ [205] ܩܣܩܣܕ. ܗܟ̈ܗ ܗܪܗܣܟܝ
ܐܚܬܙܡܕܣܠܝ ܫܝܩܡܐܠܟܐ  ܐܡܗ ܗܟܚ: ܠܟ̈ܪܗܡܡܟܝ ܩܣܗܣܒܝ: ܩܐ̈ܟܣܟܐ ܐܡܗ:
ܩܩܣܒܗܣܟܬ ܠܟܡܠܬܐ ܪܐܪܙܡܐ ܪܗܠܟ̈ܪܗܒܝ ܗܣܗܙ: ܗܟܠܐܟܠ̈ ܪܐܪܙܡܐ ܗܘܐ
[210] ܗܟ̈ܟܐ ܠܟܗ̈ܪܗ: ܣܗܕ ܪܐ̈ܩܥܗܝ ܗܩܣܗ ܩܟܩܣܠ ܗ̈ܣܣܟܐ ܪܗܣ̈ܣܟܐ ܠܟܩܣܗ̈ܣܟܐ:

ܗܕ݂ܐܠܟ ܗܟܐ ܡܬܗܐ ܀ ܪܟ݂ܟܐ ܘܗܝ : ܥܗ݂ܒܠܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܚܡܗܐ ܗܡܘܣܠܝ

ܡܗܡܙ [215] ܗܝ ܗܫܡܠܐ : ܫܗܝ ܘܗܥܚܡܝ ܘܨܢ̈ܐ ܐܗܐ ܠܐܡܘܐ:

ܘܗܚܗܝ ܐܨܘ݂ܟܐ ܐܗܐ ܗܗܗܐ ܘܗܗܗܠܝ: ܗܠܐܗ݂ܗ ܐܗܘܗܐ: ܗܗܗ ܐܗܘ݂ܟܐ:

ܗܗܠܐ ܘܐܦ ܠܐܗܘܗܡܙ [220] ܗܠܐܗܗܗܝ ܗܗܗܗܗܡ : ܗܗܗܗܟܠܐ ܘܗܠܗܐ

ܘܗܗܗܗ ܗܗܗܝ ܗܗܗ ܐܨܘ݂ܟܐ ܐܗܐ ܗܗܗܐ݂ܐ ܘܗܗܗ ܀ ܘܐܦܠ ܠܗܗ:

ܥܗ݂ܒܠܐ ܘܗܗܗܝ ܗܘܐ [225] ܘܐܡܘ݂ܗ ܘܗܗܗܗ ܠܗܗܗܗ ܟܠܐ ܐܗܗ ܘܥܗܘ ܀

ܘܗܚܗܝ ܘܗܝ ܟܘܗ : ܐܗܗܐ ܘܗܘܗܐ ܗܗ݂ܗܐ ܠܗܗ̈ܐ ܐܗܘܗܐ ܘܐ݂ܗܗܘ

ܥܗ݂ܒܠܐ ܗܗܗܠܝ . ܚܗܐ ܗܗ ܗܗ݂ܗܗܐ [230] ܗ̣ܝ ܘܗܝ݂ܗܟܗ ܚܗܗ

ܗܗ݂ܗܐ ܘܗܗܗܗܐ ܐܗܘ ܐܗܘܐ . ܗܗܗܘ ܟܐܗܗܐ ܘܗܘܗܟܐ ܘܗܗܗ ܗܘܐ ܗܐܗܗ

ܟܗ݂ܗܠܐ : ܠܐ ܐܗܗܝ ܗܗܗܗ : ܗܗܗܐ ܘܗܗܗܗ [235] ܘܗܗܗܠܗܗܐ ܘܗܗ

ܗܗܗܗ ܘܗܗ݂ܗܐ : ܟܐܗܗܐ ܐܗܗ݂ܘ . ܗܗܗܗܐ ܟܗܗܗܗܐ ܘܗ݂ܗܘ ܗܗ݂ܟܗ ܘܗܗܗܠܝ :

ܐܗܘ݂ܗܐ ܐܗܗ݂ܘ . ܘܐܦ ܗܗ ܗ݂ܙ݂ܗܐ ܐܗܢ ܚܗ݂ܟ ܠܟ݂ܗܗܗ݂ܗ [240] ܘܗ݂ܗܗܗܠܗ

ܘܘܟܗ ܘܗ݂ܗܗܗܐ ܗܗܗܐ ܗܗ݂ܗܗܐ . ܚܗܐ ܗ݂ܗ ܐܗܗܟܐ ܘܗ݂ܗܗ ܐܠܗܗ

ܘܐܗܐ ܗ݂ܗ ܀ ܘ݂ܗ݂ܐ ܟܘܟ : ܥܗ݂ܒܠܐ ܘܗ݂ܗܟܐ ܗܘܐ ܗܗ݂ܗܗܗ ܠܐܡܗܗ ܘܗ݂ܗܐ :

[245] ܐ݂ܗ ܘܗܗ݂ܗܐ ܗܘܐ ܗܗ݂ܟܐ ܗ݂ܗܗ . ܐܗܡ݂ܗ ܚ݂ܗ ܘܗ݂ܙ݂ܐ ܐܗܐ

ܗܘܐ ܗ݂ܟܗ . ܀

ܗ݂ܟܐ݂ܐ ܗ݂ܗܗܗܗ݂ܐ ܘܗܗܗܗ݂ܝ ܐܗܗܐ ܗ݂ܟ݂ܐ݂ܐ ܗ݂ܗܟ݂ܐ ܠܗ݂ܗ݂ܐ ܘܠ݂ܗܗ݂ܝ

[250] ܗ݂ܗ݂ܗܗܐ ܘܐ݂ܗ݂ܗܐ ܗ݂ܗܗܗܗ ܐ݂ܗ݂ܗ ܐ݂ ܗܗܗܠܝ . ܐ݂ܗ݂ܗ݂ܗܠܝ :

ܘܗ݂ܗܠܐ ܗ݂ܗ݂ܐܠܐ ܀ ܗ݂ܐ ܗܗ : ܥܗ݂ܒܠܐ ܘܐ݂ܗܠ݂ܗܐ ܐܗܐ ܗ݂ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܘܗ݂ܗ݂ܗܐ : ܗܗ

ܘܗ݂ܗܗ݂ ܗ݂ܟ݂ܗ݂ܟ݂ܐ ܗ݂ܝ [255] ܗ݂ܗܗܗܗ : ܗ݂ܗ݂ܐܗ݂ ܗ݂ܗܗܐ ܗ݂ܗ݂ܟܐ ܐ݂ܗ݂ܗ ܀

ܘܗ݂ܗܗ݂ ܘܗܝ : ܗ݂ܗ݂ܗܐ ܗ݂ܗ݂ܟ݂ܐ ܐ݂ܗ݂ܗ : ܥܗ݂ܒܠܐ ܘܗ݂ܗ݂ܗ ܗܘܐ ܘܠ݂ܗ݂ܗ݂ܐ

ܗ݂ܗ݂ܝ ܗ݂ܟ݂ܠ ܐ݂ܗ݂ܗ݂ܐ݂ܠܐ ܗ݂ܗ݂ܗ݂ܐ . ܐܗ݂ܙ [260] ܗ݂ܗ ܗ݂ܟ݂ ܗ݂ܗ݂ܐ : ܘܗ݂ܝ

ܘܐ݂ܗ݂ܐ ܗ݂ܗ ܗ݂ܟ݂ܗ݂ܝ ܗ݂ܗ݂ܗܗܠܝ : ܠ݂ܠܐ ܗ݂ܗ݂ܝ ܘܗ݂ܗܐ ܗ݂ܗ . ܐ݂ܗ݂ܙ ܗ݂ܗ݂ܟ

ܗ݂ܗܗ݂ܐ : ܘܠܐ ܗ݂ܗ݂ܗ݂ܗ݂ ܗ݂ܗ݂ܘ ܗ݂ܗ݂ܗ ܗ݂ܝ ܗ݂ܐ ܘܗ݂ܗ݂ܗ [265] ܗ݂ܗ݂ܗ

ܗ݂ܗ݂ܐܗ݂ . ܐ݂ܗ݂ܙ ܗ݂ܗ݂ܟ ܗ݂ܗ݂ܗ݂ܗ ܐ݂ܗ݂ܗ݂ܗ݂ܗ݂ܐ : ܘܗ݂ܐ݂ܗ݂ ܠܐ ܗ݂ܗ݂ܗ݂ܗ݂ :

ܘܐܠܗܐ ܠܐ ܡܟܚܡܚ: ܐܢ ܠܬܩܚܚ ܟܚܝ. ܐܘܣܬܠܡܚܘܣܚ ܀ ܘܐܟܠܐ ܘܡܚ:
[270] ܥܕܠܠܐܚ ܘܡܝܣܠܚ: ܣܠܠܐ ܥܕܐܚܚܚܚ ܘܘܟ ܘܡܐܠܥܣܚ ܣܝܐܘܟܐ:
ܝܐ. ܘܗܘ ܡܚܝܣܠܚ ܗܘܐ ܐܠܝ̈ܪܘܐ. ܡܚܢܐ ܥܕܟܚܚܐ. ܐܡܝ ܘܐܥܢܝ ܝܐܗ
ܡܥܢܟܚ ܝܣܐ: ܘܘܐ ܐܚܝ [275] ܟܬܠܕ ܟܠܠܠܝ. ܘܐܦ ܥܕܘܥܟܚܐ ܥܟܢܡܚܕ
ܐܥܢܐ: ܘܣܠܠܐ ܟܘܘܐ ܘܡܗ̈ܥܚܐ ܟܠ ܐܡܠܚܝ ܘܘܣܠܟܚܝ ܟܚ. ܘܐܘܘ̈ܚܐ
ܣܠܠܐ: ܐܡܝ ܘܥܢܟܠܐ ܚܕܪ ܐܚܕ̈ܡܚܝ ܀ ܘܐܘ̈ܟܐ [280] ܚܘܟ: ܥܕܠܝ̈ܠ ܘܣܠܠܐ
ܗܐ ܘܐܐ ܘܡܥܢܟܚܐ. ܝܣܐ ܟܚܚܚ ܡܗ̈ܥܚܐ ܘܝ̈ܗܚ ܟܚܘܪ̈ܐ ܥܟܗܣܚܚ
ܡܗ̈ܥܚܐ ܘܠܐܟܘܚܝ ܗ̈ܘܐ.

ܟܟܠܐ ܡܚܥܚܚ̈ܐ ܥܕܐܥܢܚܐ: [285] ܘܥܚܝ̈ܠ ܥܢܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܥܚܚܚܚܚܚ
ܘܡܝܣܠܚ ܟܗ̈ܥܢܝܥܐ: ܘܡܚ ܠܗܚ ܟܗ̈ܥܢܝܥܐ: ܗܘܐ ܥܗܚܐ ܡܢܠܚܚ ܥܢܠܚܚ ܐܡܚ ܐܚܚ̈ܐ
ܗܘܐ: ܘܗܚܚ ܥܢܠܗ ܡܠܟ ܡܬܥܢܟܟܚܐ: ܗܡܚܝ ܐܡܚܐ ܀ ܟܟܚܐ [290] ܘܡܚ
ܘܡܟܚܚܟܚ ܟܗ̈ܥܢܝܥܐ ܗܘܐ: ܥܡ ܗܚܡܚ̈ܐ ܐܟ ܡܢ̈ܚ̈ܡܚܐ ܟܚܡܗ̈ܕܘܪ ܥܐܗܚܠܐ
ܘܡܚܝ̈ܘܪܡ ܗܚ̈ܩ̈ܝܟܚ ܘܥܕܟܚܚ: ܘܘܐܠܠܥܕܟܚܐ ܥܚܠܐ ܐܘܘ̈ܡܚܟܪ ܐܡܝ ܘܡܐܡܚܟ
[295] ܥܐܗܠܝܟ̈ܚܚܝ ܘܥܕܟܟܚ. ܗܘܐ ܐܠܚܝ ܐܠܚܝ ܐܚܘܘ̈ܝܡܝܬܚ: ܗܥܢܠܠܐ ܟܚܚܚܚܚܝ
ܘܐܚܢܝ ܟܚ̈ܚܝ ܘܐܟܚ ܟܚ̈ܚܟ̈ܚ̈ܚ: ܗܥܚ̈ܐ ܘܐܗܚܚܟ̈ܠܣܟ̈ܚ̈ܠܗ̈ܚ ܀ ܟܚ̈ܣܟܣܟܝ܀ ܘܐܦ
ܐܠܐ ܐܐ ܀܀ [300] ܐܝܬ̈ܚ̈ܚ̈ܕܘܪ ܟܚ̈ܐ. ܘܠܚܝ. ܘܡܚ ܐܐܟ̈ܚܐ ܗܡܚ̈ܚܚܚ̈ܚܚ ܥܕܠܐ
ܗܘܗܟ ܟܚܐܟ̈ܚܐ. ܗܚ̈ܡ̈ܝܚܝ ܐܗ̈ܠܝ̈ܝܟ̈ܚ ܣܚܝ̈ܥ̈: ܘܐܟ̈ܣܥܟܚܐ ܗܘ ܥܕܡ ܡܥܚܚܚ ܟܚܕܪ
ܥܚܠܐ ܘܚܗ̈ܥܚܐ: ܘܐܡܚܐ [305] ܥܥܗ̈ܚ̈ܠܟ̈ܚܝ ܥܢܚܡ̈ܚܚ: ܐܠܚ̈ ܥܚܝ ܘܠܚ̈ܝ
ܘܥܡܥܟ̈ܚܝ ܗܗܘ ܥܥܟܝ ܐܚܚܝ ܟܚ ܘܥܚ̈ܡ̈ܣܟ̈ܚ ܐܥܠ ܟܚܟ̈ܡܐ ܣܚܡ ܟܚ̈ܝܡ
ܘܐܚܢܟ̈ܐ ܟܚܐܠܐ: ܘܥܢܚ̈ܡ̈ܟܐܠܚܐ ܥܠܟܚ̈ܝ. ܡܚ̈ܥܝ ܣܚ̈ܝ̈ܩܐ [310] ܡܥܕܟܚܐ ܘܐܚܢܚ̈ܝ:
ܘܗܚܚ ܥܚܚܚܡܣܚܐ. ܡܥܚ̈ܘܪ ܐܡܘܘ̈ܝܡܝܬܚ ܘܐܡܠܚܚ̈ܐ ܟܚ̈ܐܥܢܚܐ ܡܥܢܟܟ̈ܚܐ ܘܐܡܚ
ܥܚ̈ܐ ܘܡܠܚܝ. ܐܚܢܝ ܟܚ ܘܗܘ· ܗܥܡܚ̈ܐ ܚܕܪ ܐܚܢ̈ܚ. ܐܚܢܝ ܟܚ ܥܚ [315] ܘܘ̈ܝ ܀
ܐܣܗܪ̈ܟ: ܐܠܘܡܝ ܠܐ ܥܕܥܐܐ ܐܢܐ ܟܚ: ܥܥܗ̈ܥܟܐ ܥܡܗ̈ܐ ܥܢܝܟ̈ ܐܠܐ. ܐܠܚ̈
ܘܡܚ ܥܚܝ ܗܘܗܚ ܀ ܘܥܡܥܟ̈ܚܝ ܗܗܘ ܥܢܚܝ ܥܡ ܡܗ̈ܡܥܟ̈ܚܟܚܝ: ܗܘܗܚ ܗ̈ܐܪܘ̈ܟ̈ܚ̈ܐ
ܠܐܟ̈ܡܚܚܟ [320] ܐܥܢܚܐ. ܝܗ̈ܚ ܘܡܚ ܡܚ̈ܚ̈ܟ̈ܚ̈ܐ ܟܚ̈ܡ̈ܣܠܚ ܥܗ̈ܠܗܚ

ܡܫܬܡܗܘܐܝܬ : ܕܐܝܟܐ ܠܚܕܘܪܘܐ ܕܐܬܩܡܐ .    ܘܐܬܒܥܕܐ ܠܥܢܝ ܓܡ ܡܩܘ .

ܬܘ ܕܡܝ ܐܡܘܕܝܡܫܬ ܗܘܘܬ [325]    ܟܪܥܘܐ ܘܠܡܠܡܘܕ ܟܠܝܟܡܐ :    ܥܡ

ܗܘܘ ܗܘܐ ܠܚܥܝܗ ܩܠܝܐ    ܡܬܩܢܠܝ . ܡܥ ܕܡܝ ܐܝܠ ܐܥܘܐ    ܠܚܥܝܐ ܠܐ

ܐܡܚܣ ܠܐ    ܠܚܝܡܣܠܝ ܗܠܐ ܠܐܥܢܗ : ܘܘܣܠ [330]    ܘܠܝܥܥܡܣܘ ܠܚܝܐ

ܐܡܘܕܝܡܫܬ ܗܐܝܠ ܐܣܝ ܓܚܘܫܐ ܠܚܩܡܠܐ .    ܐܡܘܕܝܡܫܬ ܕܡܝ ܗܘܘ ܥܝܠܟܚܐ

ܥܡܠܟ ܗܡܥܠܐ ܠܚܕܘܪܘܐ :    ܐܡܝ ܘܠܐܡܟ ܥܐܘܝܠܟܡܝ [335]    ܘܠܚܝܕܘܐ

ܘܥܐܣܘܠܐ ܕ ܐܣܘܠܐ    ܝܚܝ ܐܥܘܡܝ ܘܥܢܝ ܡܬܚܣܘܠܘܐ    ܘܕܘܣܐ ܥܘܡܡܐ :

ܐܠܠܝܣ ܬܘ    ܡܣܡܠܝ : ܘܠܩܘܣ ܠܚܕܘܪܘܐ .    ܘܠܘܡܝ ܥܡ ܥܐ ܠܚܚܝܡܣ

ܗܠܡܝ . [340]    ܥܥܬ ܕܡܝ ܐܥܘܡܣܠܝ ܘܥܢܝ    ܠܚܩܘܠܘܐ ܠܚܝܡܝܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܥܗ

ܡܬܩܩܗ ܘܣܡܣܠܝ    ܘܠܚܕܘܪܘܐ : ܐܡܠܐ ܘܠܚܡܘܘܘ ܘܡ ܣܗܘܘܗ ܘܗܠ

ܥܚܡܡܐ : [345]    ܗܠܐ ܠܗܐ ܗܗ ܡܬܫܡܘܠܘܐ    ܥܘܘܡܐ : ܥܟܠܗܠ ܘܡܝ

ܘܐܗܠܐ ܗܘܐ    ܐܣܠܟܘܐ ܠܐܠܘܐ ܗܗܐ ܠܐܥܢܗ    ܘܥܚܡܡܣܐ : ܐܡܠܐ ܘܐܥܘܙ    ܥܠܐܥܐ

ܠܚܥ ܥܘܡܘܘܘ : ܘܗܝ    [350]    ܠܚܡܡܩܐ ܐܣܠܠܝܗܡ :    ܥܟܠܡܝ    ܗܘܐ ܘܘܩܘܘܐ

ܠܣܡܘܘ ܥܠܠ    ܥܚܡܡܣܐ : ܘܘܠܘ ܠܚܗܙ ܐܥܘܘܘ    ܘܠܟܠܐܝ : ܥܩܠ    ܘܠܐ ܥܚܡܡܩܝ

ܩܥܙ ܗܘܗ ܘܠܟܠܐܝ : ܙܘܠܝܘܗ    [355]    ܘܠܟܠܐܝ ܠܩܗܐ ܠܚܟܚܗܐ : ܗܐܠܐ    ܣܠܡܩ ܐܠܐ

ܘܥܠܠܘ ܐܠܚܠܟܝ    ܘܘܗܘܘܘܐ . ܠܩܩ ܠܚܕܘܪܘܐ ܥܢܝ    ܠܚܩܘܙܝ    ܐܣܡܣܠܐ

ܘܠܐܥܟܘܐ    ܘܘܠܐܥܐ ܘܠܣܩܘܘܘ ܠܚܟܗܘܘ ܗܚܠܡܝ [360]    ܠܚܗܡܐ : ܠܘܡܩܠܩܠܘܘܐ

ܣܗܘܘܡܐ ܥܡ ܣܘܡܝ ܠܟܗ ܘܐܡܟܗ ܗܘ    ܠܚܠܗܥܐ ܗܠܘܡܘܘ : ܘܘܠܐ ܐܣܡܝ    ܥܟܠܟܗܡܠܘܐ

ܘܐܬܟܠܗܠܘܐ : ܘܘܠܐ    ܥܘܗܘ ܥܘܢܗ ܠܚܩܟܚܡܣܐ : ܗܠܐ    ܗܘ [365]    ܣܡܟܠܚܘܘ : ܘܐܩܠܐ

ܠܥܘ ܠܟܗ ܗܗ    ܣܩܘܙܘܐ ܠܚܩܢܗ : ܩܘܗ    ܘܥܩܩܘܪܘܐ ܠܚܩܙ ܥܟܗܠܡܝ    ܗܠܡܝ :

ܠܚܘܡܐ ܠܟܗ ܗܗ ܐܩܠܠܐ    ܘܠܐܝ ܣܡܘ ܠܚܟܚܗܘ . ܗܐܩ . [370]    ܗܘ ܣܗܣܠܝ

ܩܩܠܐ ܐܥܘܙ : ܗܐܠܐ    ܠܐ ܗܘ ܠܐ ܣܘܥ ܗܗ ܠܟܗ : ܗܠܐ ܡܠܝ    ܘܗܘܘܠܗ ܘܐܠܚܠܟܝ ܥܩܠܚܐ :

ܗܘ    ܐܥܘܙ ܠܟܗ ܘܐܡܠܐ ܘܣܘܐ ܐܠܐ ܘܠܗܣܠܐ    ܘܘܘܘܝ ܥܣܣܡܣܐ ܠܚܟܚܗܘܘ ܣܗܘܘܠܐ .

[375] ܥܘܘܡܝ ܥܠܐܠܐܡܐ ܗܗ ܥܣܩܩܗ    ܘܠܚܕܘܪܘܐ ܕ ܐܠܐ ܗܗ ܥܗ ܥܩܗܐ ܗܠܡܝ

ܐܡܠܗ ܗܗܘ ܗܘ ܠܩܩ ܗܠܘܡܝ    ܥܢܝ ܘܐܥܘܡܝ : ܘܥܗ ܠܘܠܥܡܝ ܗܠܡܝ ܠܐ

ܥܠܝܗ̈ܝ ܒܝܩ ܕܡܟ ܘܝ̈ܝ : ܐܥܢܘܝ . ܟܬܝܒ̈ܬܐ [380] ܘܩܘܡ̈ܩܘ ܡܥܝ̈ܝܗܝ

ܘܝ̈ܩܣ ܐܘܩ̈ܝܗ ܗܘܐ ܠܩܘܡ : ܥܠܝ̈ܠܐ ܕܝܐܬ ܡܬܡܡ ܘܡܚܒ ܟܝܟ̈ܡ ܘ̈ܩܝܗ

ܣܬܝ̈ܝ ܘܥܢܘ̈ܝܐ : ܐܡܪ ܕܐܥܢܝ ܟܛܠܐܝ : ܕܝܗܢ ܡܪܝ̈ܗܢ [385] ܟܠ ܕܝܐܬ ܗܘܬ

ܟܕܝ̈ܗ ܘܥܪܝܟ̈ܡܗ ܟܡܥܝ̈ܐ ܕܠܝܗ : ܗܢܝ̈ܝ ܘܐܥܢܝ ܕܪܚܟ ܗܝ ܐܬ ܡܬܡܡ

ܐܡܚܝܬ ܥܠܝ̈ܝ ܡܟܝܥ̈ܝܝܗ ܟܬܝܒ̈ܬܐ : ܟܝܬ ܗܠܝܐ : ܐܡܪ ܐܥܢܝ ܕܐܬ ܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ

ܡܚܠܝ [390] ܥܡ ܠܗܣ ܟܗܟܝ̈ܩܙܗ . ܐܡܝܗܠܐ ܕܡܚ ܐܥܢܝ ܚܝܬ ܗܘܬ

ܡܚܝܬ ܠܗܣ : ܗܠܝܠܐ ܗܢ ܕܚܩ̈ܪܘܗ ܐܥܢܝ̈ܝ ܘܥܠܝ ܥܠܝ̈ܝܝܗ ܟܡܝ̈ܩܗ ܘܣܡ̈ܩܗ

ܟܬܝܒ̈ܬܐ : ܕܡܚܝ̈ ܡܥܠܝ ܘܠܘܗ . ܡܚܟ ܡܬܥܟܠܐ [395] ܡܥܠܝ̈ܝ ܘ̈ܝܬܝ ܘ̈ܥܢܝ ܘܐܥܢܝ

ܕܝܩ ܟܒ̈ܢܘ ܥܠܝܗ̈ܝ ܠܗܣ : ܐܥܢܝ ܗܠܝ̈ܩܙܗ : ܐܥܢܝ̈ܝ ܗܘܐ ܕܡܝܚܬ

ܥܠܝ ܡܚܪ : ܥܠܝ̈ܠܐ ܕܥܠ ܩܝ ܠܟܝ̈ܝ ܥܠܝܗ̈ܝ [400] ܡܡ̈ܩܐ : ܡܬܝ̈ܟ̈ܝ̈ܝ :

ܐܦ ܟܡܟܠ̈ܟ̈ܝ̈ܝ ܗܠܝܠܐ ܕܡܚ : ܥܠܝ : ܐܚܗ ܐܥܢܝ̈ܝ ܕܡܠܟ ܐܥܢܝ̈ܝ ܗܠܝܠܐ ܠܘܬ ܟ̈ܩܗ :

ܥܠܝ ܟܠܝ̈ܩܟ̈ܩܗ ܟܥܝ̈ܝ̈ܗ ܟ̈ܩܝ̈ܬܐ ܟܣܡ̈ܩܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܗܘܐ ܗܝ̈ܝ ܟܠܟ . ܗܘܐ [405] ܡܩܪܘ

ܠܟܚ ܘܥܢܝ̈ܝܗ ܥܠܝ̈ܝ ܗܠܝܠܐ ܕܡܚ ܐܚ̈ܬܝ̈ܝ : ܥܠܝ ܥܠܝ̈ ܘܪܟ̈ܗ

ܕܥ̈ܩܘ ܡܚܟ ܡܬܥܟܠܐ . ܗܢ ܕܩ̈ܘܗܣܩܗ ܐܚܗ ܥܪܝ̈ܟ̈ܩܗ ܟ̈ܩܝ̈ܬܐ ܘܗܩܗ ܥܪܝ̈ܟ̈ܝܗ

ܗܘܐ : ܘܥܢܝ̈ܩܗ̈ܝ : ܗܘܐ [410] ܟ̈ܝ ܩܝ̈ܩܟ̈ܠܝܗ ܩܝ̈ܝ : ܩܡ̈ܝ : ܥܝ̈ܝ ܣܡ̈ܝܐ ܕܡܩܬ̈ܗ :

ܘܩܝܗ ܣܢܘ ܩܝ̈ܙܐ ܕܝܘ̈ܠ̈ܗ

## TRANSLATION

### The Birth of John

Words of Moses bar Cepha on "The Birth of John." It is proper that we should investigate a number of things here, and first the question, "What is this pinax which he mentioned?" And some say that these were little, black boards on which one wrote with pencils. Others say that he called here an ordinary tablet a pinax, and others say that he named a writing-tablet a pinax.

A second word: On account of which word of the words which the angel said to Zechariah did he bind his tongue and make dumb his speech, as he said to him, "Thou shalt not be able to speak until these things occur"? Was it then because he said to him, "Elisa-

beth, thy wife, shall bear thee a son"?    But see, John was born and
Zechariah was more dumb than the fishes.    Or was it because of this,
"Many shall rejoice in his birth"?    But see, the neighbors and
relatives rejoiced and Zechariah remained silent still.    Or was it
because of this, "Until he shall be filled with the Holy Spirit while
he is yet in the womb of his mother"?    But see, he was filled and he
rejoiced, and Zechariah was silent still.    Or because of this, "He
shall be great before the Lord, and wine and strong drink shall he
not drink, and many of the children of Israel shall he turn to the
Lord their God, and he shall go before him in the spirit and in the
power of Elias, the prophet, and he shall turn the hearts of the fathers
to the children"?    And see, the tongue of Zechariah was released,
that is, his speech was made free, before these things occurred.
And because of which of these words was his tongue imprisoned and
his speech made dumb?    And we say: "The angel said to him two
words both of which Zechariah doubted: One, 'Elisabeth, thy wife,
shall bear thee a son;' the other, 'Thou shalt call his name John'!"
And Zechariah doubted both these two and he said, "How can a son
be to me when I am an old man and my wife is advanced in her days?
And if it should occur and be to me, why should I call his name John,
which is a strange name in my family?"    And it may be known that
he doubted both these two from this, that John was born and Zecha-
riah remained dumb still; and from this, that the angel said to him,
"From now on shalt thou be dumb," not, "until this thing shall be,"
which would be a sign of one word, but, "until these things shall be,"
which is a proof of two words.    Therefore it is known that he doubted
two things; this, that a son should be born to him, and this, that he
should call his name John.    If then a man should make objection
and should say that these two things are anterior in the order of the
Scripture (I mean namely, the one: "She shall bear thee a son,"
and the other: "Thou shalt call his name John") to this: "Thou
shalt be dumb and not able to speak until these things come to
pass;" then we reply to him, that it is the custom of Scripture to
place the former things after and the latter things before.    And
this is known from this very passage; for the angel said, "He shall
be filled with the Holy Spirit while yet in the womb of his mother."
He placed that before this.    And who is so simple and foolish as to

think that after he had abstained and had been a Nazarite from wine and strong drink, he returned to the womb of his mother and was filled with the Holy Spirit, according to that which the order of the words required? Therefore it is proved that the Scripture is accustomed to place the former things after and the latter things before.

A third word; why did he not call his name John with his mouth as he wrote it on the tablet? And we say, Because he tried at this time to speak and he could not, for the angel had said two things to him; one, "Thou shalt call his name John;" and the other, "Thou shalt not be able to speak until thou hast called his name John." And therefore he was constrained by both the two: On the one side constrained and compelled him the word of the angel, "Thou shalt not be able to speak;" and on the other side constrained and compelled him the word of the angel, "Thou shalt call his name John." It was not removed from him that he should not be able to speak, and yet, if he should not be able to speak how could he call his name John? It was truly a singular experience, and not an ordinary one, which tormented Zechariah. Therefore because he was compelled by these two, he asked for a tablet and he wrote and said " His name is John." And as he wrote on the tablet he freed both of the two, "Thou shalt call his name John," and "Thou shalt not be able to speak until thou shalt have called his name John." The two then were fulfilled and served their purpose and neither of them fell to the ground. For when his hand wrote, straightway his tongue began to pronounce and just as he finished its last letter, which was *hê*, his tongue was set free and he said, "John is his name." Again, he wrote his name on the tablet because the Old Testament began in writing; as God said to Moses, "Hew for thyself two stones and write upon them the words, etc." It was proper then that the New Testament also should begin in writing and on a tablet. In the writing of the table were ten words; and here on the tablet were ten letters, "John is his name." And there Moses stuttered in speaking, here Zechariah was dumb, without speech.

A fourth word; how did Zechariah write "John," alone or the three members, thus, "John his name"? But Luke, the Evangelist, did not say so. To me is the assurance that he wrote the three

members, thus, "John his name." And this may be known from
the fact that if he had written "John" alone, it would have been
thought that to Zechariah was the name John due, and not to the
divine agency, that which in the house of the Holy of Holies spoke
and named him John. And so then if he had written, "He shall be
called John," it would have been thought that the naming of John
was from Zechariah. And a testimony to this is that as Elisabeth
said, "He shall be called John," they said to her, "There is no man
in thy family who is called by this name." Thou seest how those
who heard considered that to Elisabeth was the giving of the name
John and not to the divine agency. So they would have done to
Zechariah also had he written, "He shall be called John." In two
cases would it have been thought, then, that Zechariah named John;
that is, if he had written "John;" and if he had written, "He shall
be called John." It is proved therefore that Zechariah wrote three
members thus, "John his name." He meant, namely: "Do not
ask me concerning his name, for it is not given to me that I should
name him or should give him a name: but John is his name, as he
was named by the angel in the house of the Holy of Holies." There-
fore those who were assembled were silent when they heard, and did
not expostulate with Zechariah. For if they had not comprehended
that he was thus named by the divine agency and not by Zechariah,
it would have been easy to expostulate with him, "There is no man
in thy family who is called by this name," as they had expostulated
with Elisabeth.

A fifth word; why did not his tongue name him John, as the angel
had said, instead of his hand writing it? And on this subject we will
say many things. Firstly, both things happened, the hand wrote
and the tongue of Zechariah named him John. Secondly, because
Zechariah was the cause of this, for he had doubted, and he paid
a penalty worthy of his doubting, a silence for nine months.
Thirdly, because the hand was more fitting than the tongue for John,
because there are five fingers on the hand and five letters in the name
of John, and in that of his father Zechariah five letters. So also of
Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the propagators of their family, were
five letters to each of their names. Fourthly, because his right hand
was destined to be placed on the head of his Master. Fifthly, in

order that Zechariah might receive complete absolution that he had doubted concerning John, for there is not among the organs of sense one which is so effective in the dissipation of doubts as is the hand. And Thomas testified that until he should touch with his hand the side, his doubts would not be removed; and behold, on the eighth day after the resurrection of the Lord, Thomas was convinced. And on the eighth day, that of the circumcision of John, Zechariah was convinced. And also the Lord said in the presence of his disciples, "Touch me, and know that to a spirit are not flesh and bones as ye see are to me." Sixthly, because it typified in advance the hand of the Lord, which should be with him. And truly the hand of the Lord was with him.

A sixth word; why was John called by a foreign name, one foreign to the family of Zechariah and of Elisabeth? And we say, for many reasons. Firstly, because he was to be the messenger of a king, that one who should renew the world from of old. Therefore he was called by a new name. Secondly, he was called by a new name because he should preach new things to the Children of Israel. For he said to the people, " He who has two cloaks shall give to him who has none." And he said to the publicans, " Do not demand more than is commanded to you to demand." And he said to the soldiers, "Do not vex any man, and do not oppress any man, but let your wages be sufficient for you." Thirdly, because "John" is, interpreted, "grace;" and moreover, the New Testament, of which John was to be the representative, is full of grace. As Simeon, the old man, said, "Behold, my eyes have seen thy mercy." And the Virgin Mary said also, "And his mercy is to ages and generations on those who fear him;" and, " He hath called to memory his mercy, as he spoke with our fathers." Fourthly, because it was a great and exalted mercy, that an old man, advanced in days, and an old woman, barren and advanced in days, should bear a son.

A seventh word is necessary. For what reason was the going of John to the wilderness, and how old was he when he went to the wilderness, and from whom did he learn to speak, and how? The cause of his going to the wilderness was: as the Magi came to Judea at the time of the birth of the Lord, the Messiah, and all Jerusalem was disturbed, as it is written in the Gospel of Matthew, and Herod called

them and spoke with them and said to them, "Go, search, and when ye shall have found Him, come, show me, that I may go and worship Him," they went forth and left him and did not return again to him. And therefore he grew very angry and excited. And while he was making inquiry with the priests and the wise men, where the Messiah should be born, a man from those standing by said to him, "In our neighborhood is a certain boy, who was recently born, a son of Zechariah, the priest. And I hear from many, that they say, 'This one is the Messiah.'" And Herod sent and brought Zechariah, and he questioned him, "Where is thy son?" And he answered him, "Behold, he is at home with his mother." He said to him, "Go, bring him; and if thou bringest him not, thou shalt die a shameful death." A man from those standing by and hearing ran and informed Elisabeth, his mother. She then took John hastily in her bosom and went to the wilderness of the Ziphites. And they hid themselves there, he and she. Herod then sent Zechariah that he should bring the child, sending armed soldiers with him. As Zechariah arrived at his house he found neither John nor his mother, and he feared to return to Herod, so he went and took refuge in the temple. Herod sent then and killed him between the temple and the altar, as it is written in the Gospel of Luke and in others. Others say, John was moved by the agency of the Holy Spirit to go forth to the desert and dwell there thirty years. We say, moreover, that the going of John to the wilderness was by divine agency, in order that his testimony to the Messiah might be believed and that there should be nothing doubtful in it. So because there was a relationship between his mother and the mother of the Messiah (so that the angel said to Mary, "Behold, Elisabeth, thy cousin"), and he was destined to testify great things of the Messiah, namely, "This one is the Lamb of God;" and "Whoever does not believe in the Son of God, on Him shall the anger of God rest;" and "I have need that I should be baptized of thee," etc.; he went to the wilderness in his childhood in order that when he should come and testify of him these divine attributes, the Jews should believe, when they should see that he had been an ascetic and a Nazarite, and that he was not taken with worldly and earthly things, and that he had never known nor seen the Messiah, and that there had been to him no companionship with

him, because he had lived in the wilderness thirty years until that time when he came and testified of Him. And John also spoke thus, "And I had not known Him; but He who sent me that I should baptize with water, said to me that He on whom I should see the Spirit of God descend and rest, etc."

Therefore his going to the wilderness was for a good reason. But how many years old was he as he went? Those, on the one hand, who say that the Magi came and found the Messiah a child of two years, say that he, John, was a child of two years and a half since he preceded by six months the carnal birth of the Lord; as the angel said, "This month is the sixth to her who was called barren." Then those who say that the Magi found the Messiah a child of six months, have said that the age of John was one year when he went to the wilderness. Others say, he went a child of six months, because the Magi came and found the Messiah in swaddling clothes, it is said.

And from whom did he learn to speak? Those who say that he went out to the wilderness a child of two and a half years, say that he was already taught, for children of two and a half years stammer and also talk. Others say that he learned from his mother; still others, from the divine Providence and solicitude which were over him. And truly the hand of the Lord was with him. Others say, he learned speaking from the Holy Spirit who brooded over him in the form of the loving mother, and who brought him up and protected him from the heat of the summers and the cold of the winters.

# SOME HITTITE AND MITANNIAN PERSONAL NAMES

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In *OLZ*, 1906, 588 f., Bork has discussed the Mitanni names found in the tablets from Nippur published by Clay in *BE*, XIV and XV; and in *BA*, VI, 5, pp. 8 f., Ungnad has taken up similar names found in the tablets from Dilbat. Ungnad has made use of the Hittite names found in the el-Amarna letters, but only for the sake of comparison. It is the purpose of this article to discuss some of the non-Semitic, that is, the Hittite-Mitannian personal names found in the el-Amarna letters, comparing them with the new names Winckler has published in his preliminary report of his excavations at Boghaz-köi in *MDOG*, 35. To the list will also be added the Hittite names found in the inscriptions of Ramses II.*

Abdi-Ḫe-pa of Jerusalem, Kn. 285 f. There is much to be said in favor of Winckler's suggestion that the first part of the name should probably be read "mitanish" instead of Semitic (*MDOG*, 35, p. 48). Cf. the names Gilu-Ḫepa, Pudu-Ḫepa, Tatu-Ḫepa and a name ending on ⌊Ḫ⌋e-pa, Kn. 48. Ḫepa was a Hittite goddess.

A-bu-Tešup, also written Abbi-Tešup, son (?) of Tušratta, mentioned in the tablets from Boghaz-köi, *MDOG*, 35, pp. 38 f. Cf. Aki-Tešup, below, and the name Abi-martu (Amurru?), *MDOG*, 35, p. 44.

A-ki-ia, Kn. 30, 3, etc. Probably a shortened form of the following; ia is a hypocoristic affix of both Babylonian† and Mitanni proper names. Cf. Ungnad, *BA*, VI, 5, pp. 10 f., A-gi-Tešup and A-gi-ia, Aḫ-li-Tešup and Aḫ-li-ia, A-ri-Tešup and A-ri-ia etc. Akia, king of Arachti, is mentioned in a tablet translated by Winckler, *MDOG*, 35, p. 34.

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*Translated by Breasted, *Ancient Records*, III.

†Cf. Ranke, *Personal Names*, pp. 11 f.

A-ki-Tešup,* Kn. 59, 15 f. Ak(i)=bring; Tešup is the well-known Hittite-Mitannian god. Names compounded with Tešup are frequent in the literature of the Cassite period; cf. Clay, *BE*, XIV, XV, and Bork, *OLZ*, 1906, 588 f., Agi-Tešup, Ari-Tešup, Umbi-Tešup, Turari-Tešup, Ḫut-Tešup, Nan-Tešup, Sili-Tešup, Urḫi-Tešup, Ḫašme-Tešup, Kil-Tešup. In the tablets discovered by Winckler at Boghaz-köi other examples have been found; see, Šama-Tešup, Manapa-Tešup, Ini-Tešup. Cf. also the city name Tešup-Tašša, *MDOG*, 35, p. 28. The name of the messenger of Khetasar (Ḫattusil) to Ramses II is written Tᵓ-rᵓ-ty-š-bw in hieroglyphic, which would probably appear in cuneiform as Tur-Tešup; see below.

A-ki-iz-zi of Ḳatna, Kn. 52. The first part of this name is the same as that of the preceding names. Names with a similar ending are Si-iz-zi-i and Si-is-si, *BA*, VI, 5, p. 15, and perhaps Ka-ni-is-si, Pa-pa-as-si, Ki-ir-ba-as-si, of C. B. M. 3474, quoted by Bork in *OLZ*, 1906, 590. Cf. also Pirizzi.

Alakšandu of Arzawa, contemporary of Ḫattusili, *MDOG*, 35, p. 41.

A-ma-ia-še, Kn. 202. The ending še is found in the Mitanni names of the Nippur texts, Bork, *op. cit.*, 590, A-gab-še and Ša-ba-aš-še.

A-nu-wa-an-za, a scribe, *MDOG*, 35, p. 28.

Ar-nu-an-ta, "the great king, son of Dudḫalia." Cf. Winckler, *MDOG*, 35, p. 29.

Ar-ta-ma-an-ia, Kn. 201. The ia is hypocoristic ending, the ar probably ar(i)=give, found in many Mitanni names, Ari-Tešup, etc. The element man seems to occur also in Ruṣ-mania, see below, and in the Cassite king's name Kadaš-man-Turgu.

Ar-ta-ta-a-ma, Kn. 29 f., the grandfather of Tušratta; also the name of the brother of Tušratta; see Winckler, *op. cit.*, pp. 36 f. For a similar ending, cf. Etagama.

Ar-ta-aš-šu-ma-ra, brother of Tušratta, mentioned in Kn. 17, 11 f.

*Once written A-bu-Tešup in *MDOG*, 35, p. 34. Probably a scribal error.

⌊Ar-t⌋e-eš-šu-pa, Kn. 29, 173, a messenger of Tušratta to
Amenhotep IV, also mentioned in the letter in the Mitanni
language,* col. IV, 36, together with Kili-ia and Asali. Cf.
names under Aki-Tešup, above; and the names collected by
Bork, *op. cit.*, 599, A-ri-par-ni, A-ri-ia-enni, A-ri-ḫa-am-
rum, A-ri-la-lum, A-ri-ba-ni, A-ri-ia-am-ma, A-ri-na-
zu-rum, A-ri-ḳir-me, A-ri-ku-ša; also A-ri-ia, *BA*, VI,
5, p. 10.

Ar-za-ia, Kn. 289, 6, Ar-za-u-ia, Kn. 53, 36; 62, 27, Ar-
za-wi-ia, Kn. 191.   Cf. Ak-ku-ú-ia, *BA*, VI, 5, p. 11.

A-sa-li, Kn. 29, 173, messenger of Tušratta to Amenhotep
IV, mentioned together with Artešupa; see above.

A-ta-mu, Kn. 32, 1.   In a letter in the Arzawa language.

Ba-ia-di, Kn. 238.   Hittite?

⌊Ba⌋-ia-wa, Kn. 215.   Hittite?

Banti-šinni, Bi-en-te-ši-na, *MDOG*, 35, pp. 24 and 45 f.
King of Amurru. The element šenni = brother, occurs in the
Mitanni names, Agabšenni, Pu-uḫ-še-en-ni, Ip-du-še-en-
ni, Ḫu-di-ti-še-en-ni, Lu-ap-še-en-ni, Ta-kil-še-en-ni,
Še-en-ni-ka, cf. Bork, *op. cit.*, 588, also I-ri-še-en-ni and
Še-na-til-la of *BA*, VI, 5, pp. 13 f.   The ending probably also
occurs in the Hittite name Rꞌ-bꞌ-sw-n-nꞌ; see below.

Bar-ḫu-i-lu-wa, *MDOG*, 35, p. 19.

D-rꞌ-d-n-y, chief of Kheta, *BAR*, III, § 349.   The ending
of this name seems to be the same as that of the Mitanni names,
A-ri-ia-en-ni, Ki-ik-ki-ia-en-ni, Šer-zi-ia-en-ni, etc.,
Bork, *op. cit.*, 588 f.; note especially Di-ik-di-en-ni.

Du-ud-ḫa-li-ia, *MDOG*, 35, pp. 27 f., son of Ḫattusili.

Ʞ-g-m, Hittite chief of archers, *BAR*, III, § 337.   The name
probably would be written Egama in cuneiform; cf. the fol-
lowing.

E-ta-ga-ma, Kn. 151, 59, also written E-da-ga-ma, Kn.
175, 176, E-tak-ka-ma, Kn. 189 f., and A-i-ṭu-ga-ma,
Kn. 53 f.   Aitakama is mentioned in the Boghaz-köi tablets,
*MDOG*, 35, p. 35.   There is a land Ḫa-pal-la-ma mentioned
in a text quoted in *MDOG*, 35, p. 19.

* Bork, *die Mitannisprache*, p. 114.

Gi-li-ia,* Kn. 19, etc.    Probably a shortened form of Gi-lu-Tešup; cf. *BA*, VI, 5, p. 10, Gi-el-Tešup, and Ki-li-Tešup, Ki-li-ia; cf. also Gilu-Ḫepa.

Gi-lu-Ḫe-pa, Kn. 17, 5 f., sister of Tušratta and wife of Amenhotep III.    Cf. names under Abdi-Ḫepa, above, and perhaps the following.

G-r-bᵓ-tw-sᵓ, Hittite charioteer, *BAR*, III, § 337.    The first part of this name may have read Gilu in cuneiform, but Gir is also possible; cf. Ki-ir-ba-as-si, of the Nippur text, Bork, *op. cit.*, 590.

Ḫy-rᵓ-pᵓ-sᵓ-rᵓ, a Hittite scribe, *BAR*, III, § 337.    The first part of this name, as well as that of the following, is the same as the city-name Aleppo, Ḫy-rᵓ-pᵓ, *BAR*, III, § 386, cuneiform Ḫalpa, while the element sᵓ-rᵓ is probably to be read si-li in cuneiform; cf. Ḫattu-sili.

Ḫal-pa-aš-šu-lu-bi, son of Mursili, *MDOG*, 35, p. 19.

Ḫa-at-tu-si-li, Hittite king, brother of preceding; *ibid.*, p. 19, and elsewhere.    In hieroglyphic this name appears as Ḫ-tᵓ-sᵓ-rᵓ, *BAR*, III, §373 f.

Ḫi-bi-ia, Kn. 178; cf. Agi-ia, Aḫ-li-ia, Ari-ia, etc.

Ini-Tešup, king of Carchemish, *MDOG*, 35, p. 28; cf. In-Šušinak, Bork, *die Mitannisprache*, p. 81, where Mitanni en is compared with Elamite in.    This name shows that the element was also Hittite.    Winckler compares this name with that of Eni-el of Hamath of the time of Tiglath-pileser III.

Ir-ša-ap-pa, Kn. 31, 11 f., messenger of Tarḫundarauš.

I-u-ni, Kn. 26, 60, wife of Tušratta.

[Ḳa-t]i-ḫu-ti-šu-pa, Kn. 58.    The first part of the name as given by Knudtzon is very doubtful; in the second element we probably have the name of the god Tešup; cf. names under Aki-Tešup, above.

Ḳy-rᵓ-[ḳy-šᵓ], Hittite chief, *BAR*, III, §349.    Cf. Ki-li-ia, under Gi-li-ia.

Kᵓ-my-tᵓ, Hittite chief, *BAR*, III, §337.    The ending of this name may be -azi; cf. references under Naḫramašši. Winckler, *MDOG*, 35, p. 28, has a name Kam(?)-ma-li-ia.

*Sachau, Bemerkungen zu Cilicischen Eigennamen, *ZA*, VII, p. 98, compares this name with Γίαλις, Γιλίων, Γιλλίων.

Lab-ba-ia, Kn. 32, and in many other letters.  The ending -ia has already been discussed under Aki-ia, above; the first part of the name probably occurs as an element of the following names.

Rᵓ-bᵓ-yw-r, *BAR*, III, §337.  The name would probably read La-ba-i(?)-li in cuneiform.

Rᵓ-bᵓ-sw-n-nᵓ, Hittite chief of archers, *BAR*, III, §337. If the name ends on šenni, as suggested above under Banti-šenni, it would appear in cuneiform as La-ba-še-en-ni.  This would show that šenni = brother is also Hittite as well as Mitannian.

Li-e-ia, Kn. 162, 70, perhaps Hittite.

Ma-an-ia, Kn. 162, 73.  Not to be confused with the Egyptian name, Mane.  Cf. Artamania, above.

Ma-na-pa-Tešup, *MDOG*, 35, p, 19; cf. names under Aki-Tešup, above.

My-tᵓ-ry-mᵓ, *BAR*, III, §337.  For the ending cf. perhaps A-ri-ḳir-me, Pir-me, Šad-dir-me or Si-il-me, Šu-kul-me, Ku-gul-me (Bork, *op. cit.*, 590).

Mattiuaza, son of Tušratta, *MDOG*, 35, pp. 36 f.  Cf. Nam-ia-wa-zi.

Ma-zi-pa-a-at-li, Kn. 29, 156.  Messenger of Tušratta. The next to the last sign is uncertain.

Mursili, Hittite king, written in hieroglyphic M-rᵓ-sᵓ-rᵓ, *BAR*, III, §373 f.; cf. Ḫattusili.  The name occurs frequently in the tablets from Boghaz-köi, *MDOG*, 35, pp. 17 f.

Muttallu (Mu-w-at-ta-al-li) brother of foregoing, *MDOG*, 35, pp. 17 f.  Written Mw-t-n-rᵓ in hieroglyphic, *BAR*, III, §374 f.  Cf. Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. 99, Μο[τ]άλης.

Na-aḫ-ra-ma-aš-ši, Kn. 21, 33, messenger of Tušratta. Cf. Ša-ba-aš-še, Bork, *op. cit.*, 590, and perhaps *ibid.*, Kir-bassi, etc.

Nam-ia-wa-zi, Kn. 194 f., son of Šutarna, also written, Nam-ia-[z]a, Kn. 53, 34.  Cf. Mattiuaza, above.

Py-d-sᵓ, Hittite chief, *BAR*, III, §349; for the ending cf. the following.

Pᵓ-y-sᵓ, Hittite charioteer, *BAR*, III, §337.  In cuneiform

the name would probably read Paiassi; cf. following, and Pa-passi, Kirbassi, above under Akizzi.

Pi-ri-iz-zi, Kn. 27, 89 f., messenger of Tušratta. His name appears in a hieratic note on the left edge of the tablet as P-y-rᵓ-t̄ᵓ. For the form of the name cf. examples under Akizzi, above.

Pu-du-Ḫepa, Hittite queen, *MDOG*, 35, pp. 27 f. Cf. names under Abdi-Ḫepa above. In hieroglyphic this name appears as Pw-tw-ḫy-pᵓ, *BAR*, III, §391.

Ru-uṣ-ma-an-ia, the "man" of Šaruna, Kn. 241. Cf. Artamania.

Sa-uš-ša-tar, the founder of the dynasty in which Tušratta of the el-Amarna letters was the fourth (?) king, *MDOG*, 35, p. 37. Winckler, *ibid.*, p. 52, points out the fact that the second part of the name is Aryan. It is extremely probable that many of the names we now regard as Hittite or Mitannian will turn out to be composed of Indo-Germanic elements. So the names of the kings of this dynasty, Artatama, Artašumara, Šutarna, Tušratta and Mattiuaza are probably to be regarded as Aryan (Iranian); so E. Meyer, das erzte Auftreten der Arier in der Geschichte, *Sitzungsberichte d. kgl. preuss. Akad.*, 1908, pp. 14 f.

Sᵓ-my-rᵓ-tw-s̄ᵓ, *BAR*, III, §337. The ending may be -tassi or -tašša; cf. names under Akizzi, Naḫramašši, and Tešup-tašša.

ᵈSin-ᵈTešup, son of Zi-da-a, *MDOG*, 35, 19 f. Cf. Aki-Tešup, above.

Subbiluliuma, written so in the tablets from Boghaz-köi, *MDOG*, 35, and Šu-ub-bi-[l]u-li-u-ma, in Kn. 41, Hittite king, whose name appears in the inscriptions of Ramses II, as Sᵓ-pᵓ-rw-rw, *BAR*, III, §§373 f. Cf. the following.

Sᵓ-pᵓ-t̄ᵓ-rᵓ, "brother of the vanquished chief of Kheta," *BAR*, III, §337. The first part of the name is the same as the preceding; the name probably ended on -zali, or -zili.

Ša-bi-li, Amorite king, *MDOG*, 35, p. 44.

Šama-Tešup, son of Aitakama of Kinza, *MDOG*, 35, p. 41.

Ša-ti-ia, the "man" of ————, Kn. 187. Perhaps a Hittite name; cf. Aki-ia, etc.

Šu-tar-na, of Mušiḫuna, Kn. 182 f.   In *MDOG*, 35,
pp. 35 f., the name occurs as Sutarna and Sutatarra; in hie-
roglyphic, Sꜣ-ty-r-nꜣ, *BAR*, II, § 867 f.

Šu-ta-at-na, son of Šarâtum of Akko, Kn. 8, 19.   This
name is probably Hittite, in spite of the fact that his father bears
a good Semitic name.

Šu-wa-ar-da-ta, Kn. 278 f., also written Šu-ar-da-tum,
Kn. 290, 6, a writing due to the similarity of the name to Semitic
names on -âtum.   The name is probably Aryan.   The ending
-âtum is discussed by Ranke, *op. cit.*, pp. 14 f.

Tꜣ-dꜣ-rꜣ, Hittite chief, *BAR*, III, § 337.

Ta-gi, Kn. 264 f., perhaps Hittite;  see the following.

Ty-yꜣ-dw-rꜣ, Hittite chief of the bodyguard, *BAR*, III, § 337.
This name and Tꜣ-dꜣ-rꜣ both end on what would probably appear
in cuneiform as -dili.   Is this ending the same as that found in
such names as Ḫudib-tilla, Aškut-tilla, Šurki-tilla, etc.,
cf. *BA*, VI, 5, pp. 14 f. ?

Ta-ku, the grandfather of Addu-nirari, set up as king in
Nuḫašše by the Pharaoh, Kn. 51.   The name occurs in the tab-
lets from Boghaz-köi as

Ta-ku-wa, *MDOG*, 35, pp. 34 f., king of Nî.

Ty-rꜣ-gꜣ-n-nꜣ-sꜣ, Hittite charioteer, *BAR*, III, § 337.   The
name of the Hittite god Tarḫu or Tarku occurs in the personal
names not only of Asia Minor, but in Cassite names, and, in the
west, in such Etruscan names as Tarquinius.   In the Cassite
names it appears as Turgu, e.g., Kadašman-Turgu.   We have
Cilician names compounded with Τροκο, Ταρκο, and Ταρκυ, e. g.,
Τροκοζαρμας, Ταρκονδημος, Ταρκυαρις, etc., and the common name
Τεῦκρος; cf. Sachau, *op. cit.*, pp. 90 f.   Tar-ḫu-la-ra, king of Gur-
gum, contemporary of Tiglath-pileser III, and Sargon;  Tar-ḫu-
na-zi king of Melitene, time of Sargon, are other examples, *ibid.*,
pp. 91 f.   In the Mitanni names from Nippur (cf. Bork, *op. cit.*,
589), we have the name Tar-ku-a-pu.   The name given as
DAR-ḪU-nûr?-gab-ba, by Radau, *BE*, XVII, pt. 1, p. 146, is
also a compound with Tarḫu.   It will be seen that the name
Ty-rꜣ-gꜣ-n-nꜣ-sꜣ is almost exactly the same as that of Tar-ḫu-
na-zi, king of Melitene, quoted above.   The ending is the same

as that of Pa-pa-as-si, Ki-ir-ba-as-si, etc., see under Akizzi, above. Cf. the following.

Ty-rꜣ-gꜣ-ty-t-t̲ꜣ-sꜣ, Hittite chief of archers, *BAR*, III, §337.

Tar-ga-aš-na-al-li, contemporary of Mursili, *MDOG*, 35, p. 19.

Tar-ḫu-un-da-ra-uš, Kn. 31. Knudtzon's reading Tar-ḫundaraba must be corrected, as the tablets from Boghaz-köi show, *MDOG*, 30, p. 40.

Ta-aš-šu, mentioned in a letter to Amenhotep III, Kn. 56, 16. The context does not permit one to determine anything definite about him, but that his name is Hittite may follow from a comparison with such names as Ša-ba-aš-še, Sana-šu, Zari-šu, Sira-šu, Bork, *op. cit.*, 590.

Ta-tu-Ḫe-pa, Kn. 23, 7, etc., daughter of Tušratta, wife of Amenhotep III. Cf. names under Abdi-Ḫepa above.

Ta-wa-aš-ši-(?) name of a woman mentioned on a Hittite seal, *MDOG*, 35, p. 29. Cf. Tešup-tašši, a city name, *ibid.*, p. 28.

Te-Tešup, also written Du-Tešup, king of Amurru, mentioned in the Boghaz-köi tablets, *MDOG*, 35, p. 43. Cf. Aki-Tešup, above.

Te-u-wa-at-ti of Lapana, Kn. 53, 65 f.

Tꜣ-wꜣ-t̲ꜣ-sꜣ, chief of Tꜣ-ny-sꜣ, *BAR*, III, §373. The name may be equivalent in cuneiform to Te-wa-ta-si, or Zu-za-si; cf. Zu-zu-ia, *BA*, VI, 5. p. 11.

Tu-ḫi, or perhaps, Pir-ḫi, Kn. 17, 12.

Tum-ni-ip-ib-ri, messenger of Tušratta, Kn. 17, 47. The first element of the name is that of the city, Tunip. Cf. Ḫal-pašulubi and Ḫy-rꜣ-pꜣ-sꜣ-rꜣ above, in which the city name Aleppo is a component part.

Tu-ur-ba-zu, Kn. 288, 41. Whether this name is Hittite or not is uncertain. Cf. the following.

Tꜣ-rꜣ-ty-ś-bu, messenger of Khetasar (Ḫattusili) to Ramses II, *BAR*, III, §371. The second element of this name is clearly Tešup; cf. names under Aki-Tešup; but the first element Tꜣ-rꜣ- is uncertain. Perhaps it is to be read Tur in cuneiform, and in that case the preceding name Tu-ur-ba-zu, would

perhaps be a parallel. In Kn. 170, 37 occurs a name Tur-a-na, but in a group of Semitic names, and Winckler's reading Ben-a-na, adopted by Knudtzon is probably correct; cf. Ben(tur)-a-zi-mi, Kn. 120, 32, and Dumu(tur)-ia, Kn. 254, 31. The name may also be equivalent to Til-Tešup in cuneiform. The element til(-la) occurs as second element in a number of names; cf. *BA*, VI, 5, pp. 13 f.

Tu-u-ia, Kn. 162, 69. Perhaps Hittite and to be compared with Teuwatti.

Tu-uš-rat-ta, Mitannian king, Kn. 17 f. Written Tu-iš-e-rat-ta, Kn. 17, 3. Much new information concerning this king has been recovered from the Boghaz-köi tablets, *MDOG*, 35, especially pp. 30 f.

Ur-ḫi-Tešup, son of Muttallu, *MDOG*, 35, p. 20. Cf. Aki-Tešup.

Up-pa-ra-a-a, perhaps Hittite, *MDOG*, 35, p. 28.

Za-ta-at-na of Akko, Kn. 233 f. Cf. Šutatna, above.

Zi-da-a, father of Sin-Tešup, *MDOG*, 35, p. 19.

Zu-ra-ta of Akko, Kn. 232. The ending of this name is the same as that of the well-known Mitannian king Tušratta.

# IS THE BOOK OF HOSEA EXILIC?

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There is something astounding to us, when we stop to reflect upon it, in the way in which scholars have brought down most of the Old Testament literature into the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era. The discovery of the composite character of the so-called Books of Moses has not been more surprising to many than the late dates given to J and E and especially to P; while many more have been amazed to find scholars assigning the Book of Job, the Psalms, the Proverbs, Daniel, Esther and other parts of the Hebrew Scriptures to the exilic and even to the post-exilic time and in so doing marshaling data to support their conclusions that seem incontrovertible. In alluding to this crowding forward of the Old Testament literature, a movement not without its parallels in New Testament criticism, a foreign biblical scholar has significantly remarked that "there is an increased tendency to assign more of the Old Testament literature to the Persian and even to the Maccabean age."[1] It would appear that this growing tendency to find late dates for this literature, which to most scholars a dozen years ago seemed to have reached its limit, stopped but temporarily. And so, while they have allowed themselves to be drawn aside by the fascinating lure the rich finds of the Euphrates and Tigris valleys have placed before them, others have gone on in their work and have come to feel, as they have done so, that even the late dates assigned to much of the Old Testament were not late enough, that books which only a few years ago were supposed to belong to the seventh and the sixth centuries B. C. must be brought down two or three hundred years further. I am not alone, I find, in harboring the growing conviction that little save the JE narratives survived the fall of Samaria and Jerusalem, that the deuteronomic writings were exilic,[2]

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[1] Stanley A. Cook.

[2] "The Promulgation of Deuteronomy," *JBL*, 1902; "Deuteronomic Judgements of the Kings of Judah," *JTS*, October, 1909, Oxford, England.

and that most, if not all, the prophetic writings were later even than the deuteronomic.

This paper is an attempt to set forth data that for several years have led me to believe that the Book of Hosea is exilic, that it, in common with Amos, Micah, Isaiah, etc., once supposed, and still supposed by many, to be pre-exilic, was really an exilic book and that presumably it belonged to the Persian time, the unknown author having for various reasons, which may easily be surmised, dated his book back a few hundred years, while denouncing the civic disorders and unhappy social and religious conditions which still existed in his day and which did not differ materially from the disorders and conditions of the earlier time. The data which I present are so new and so in conflict with our commonly accepted thought of the exilic time that they must, if accepted, prove revolutionary to any save those who in common with Dr. Torrey and Dr. H. P. Smith have come to question seriously some of the earlier stories of the return of the *Golah* and the restoration of the land and its cities. We shall have to admit, if we accept them, that the major part of the people, both north and south, survived the fall of Samaria and Jerusalem, and that under Persian satraps the land and its cities recovered in part very slowly, despite the troublous times and the loss of those most capable of leading in economic, social and religious affairs; but that the long exile of the more cultured classes meant the development in foreign parts, both east and west; Assyria standing usually in the prophetic writings of those times for the East and Egypt for the West, of a far higher type of Yahwism than the people had heretofore known.

This new Yahwism first found its way back to Canaan through that early zionistic wave, known to us as the deuteronomic. The inspiring teachers of this school having edited the historical chronicles after their peculiar fashion, compiled their legal code, reinforcing it with hortatory addresses, and, having alluded to various deuteronomic reformations in their people's past, told the story of the finding of their law-book and of a reformation under Josiah, to which it was supposed to have led, to give credence to it. This zionistic deuteronomic movement may have lasted a century or it may far more quickly have exhausted itself. It must have met with the

indifference which is so characteristic of "the immobile East," and must have depended largely for its influence or success upon the return of small companies of the more pious and cultured of the *Golah* who from time to time with high hopes for a new day of Yahweh returned to rebuild their institutions upon broader and deeper foundations. Apart from the land, engaged abroad in manufacture and trade, they had ceased to care for the old agricultural deities. Their new Yahwism met their needs and satisfied them. It remained for them as they returned to win their people at home to it and to separate them from all those practices which had become abhorrent to them. This work of restoration went on all the more slowly during the Persian period because there were contrary currents, movements on the part of the people abroad that largely offset the advantages gained by the return of such of the *Golah* as found their way back. During these years thousands of the people must have gone both east and west in the hope of bettering their economic condition and perchance of finding a home in regions less turbulent than Canaan was during large portions of the Persian period.

We shall see that the author of the Book of Hosea, like other prophetic writers of those centuries and of the Greek period, not only endeavored to lure home the *Golah* in passages most radiantly optimistic but also sought most persistently to stem the tide flowing toward other lands. It was a time that demanded leadership in their social and religious life; and I conceive the Book of Hosea to be the work of a thinker of no small magnitude. He was what his people needed, a man of letters and a religious teacher, rather than a statesman or political haranguer. His work, as he conceived of it, was not likely to bring him into conflict with the civic authorities, especially if he published pseudonymously and avoided the mention of persons in power. My study of this prophetic piece of less than three thousand words, the length of an average sermon, forbids my accepting it as made up of outlines of public addresses covering many years of labor, and years, too, when a public speaker out of sympathy with the authorities might easily have incurred their disfavor. I believe it to be a sort of tractate, written perhaps at a sitting, in white heat, by an intense Israelitish patriot, reformer and

spiritual guide of his people. It is a piece of literature that was lighted up by rare imaginative touches, despite some gross and revolting similes, and warmed with intensest feeling. It was not without many literary blemishes when judged by more classic standards than were known to the author; but its high ethical tone and its keen appreciation of economic and social values give it no little interest for us today.

One reason which I have for regarding this prophetic piece a late pseudepigraphic work is that there is no trace of this name (הושע) in the historical records of either the eighth or seventh century B. C. Neither in the reign of Jeroboam II, or the later kings of North Israel, is there mention of him. In the annals of Jeroboam II we read of יונה בן־אמתי הנביא אשר מגת החפר ; but הושע is not alluded to.[3] Nor does such a prophet appear in the narratives of the reigns of Ahaz and Hezekiah of Judah half a century later. If I am reminded that this is true of Amos, I can only reply that it is true and that this is one reason which I find for assigning the book which bears this name to a late date.[4] If such a prophet as Hosea actually existed and bore a prominent part in the affairs of that early time we would naturally expect to come upon some allusions to him, especially as the narratives of the kings of Israel and Judah appear to be prophetic in character; but we find none such.

The name הושע (deliverance) is not an altogether improbable one, for it is given as that borne by one of the heroes of Israel's past, as we see from Num. 13:8, 16 and Deut. 32:44. This is not the common form of the name as it appears in ancient legend; יהושוע, however, is from the same verbal root. It is likely that the divine name יה, used here as a prefix, represents an afterthought. הושע also curiously enough appears as the name of the last king of Israel, presumably as a nickname; for it is hardly to be supposed that it could have been his real name. What we have specially to notice is that it is significant that this name should appear as the name of the author of this prophetic piece because it is strangely suited to the book in which, despite its threats and warnings and its oracles of doom, if taken as it stands before critical literary surgery has cut away its choicer portions, the thought of deliverance is

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[3] II Kings, 14:25.                    [4] *AJSL*, XVIII, pp. 65 f.

predominant. These optimistic passages are sublime assurances of deliverance. The *Golah* are to be saved; and the land and its cities to be redeemed. Even if with certain scholars we delete important passages which in their particularity and their radiant hopefulness are "unquestionably from the exilic times,"[5] we still have many such characteristic minor assertions left, such as: 6:1–3, 11b; 8:10; and 13:4, 9f, where we have the assertions: "for in me is thy help" and "I am now thy king and I will save thee in all thy cities." Even if we delete these and kindred passages and so seriously mutilate this prophetic piece of literature we should still have Yahweh's love for his people set forth by such strong statements and by such vivid imagery that it would not seem wholly inappropriate to have the name "Deliverance" stand as the name of the author of it. But I am unwilling, as will elsewhere appear, though I accept these zionistic, or messianic, passages as evidences of the late date of this little book, to delete them. Retaining them I find it rings with the joyous note of deliverance, that its many minor strains are well-nigh lost in this great and predominant note of deliverance.

The title of this book has been looked upon of late with no little disfavor. Some scholars are unwilling to accept it as it stands. They have no objection against the first half: דבר־יהוה אשר היה אל־הושע בן־בארי; but they do feel that the latter half cannot have been a part of the original title: בימי עזיה יותם אחז יחזקיה מלכי יהודה ובימי ירבעם בן־יואש מלך ישראל[6]. Not only is there failure here to name the later kings of North Israel, but the kings of Judah who are named in connection with Jeroboam belonged to a time some two generations subsequent to that king. It is unreasonable to suppose that a prophet whose literary remains are gathered in this little book could have had a public career of between fifty and seventy years. Wellhausen very truly says: "Aber der Synchronismus der judäischen und israelitishen Könige—der noch dazu kein rechtiger Synchromismus ist—ist nicht alt, und die beiden Daten, aus denen er sich zusammensetzt, sind irrig."[7] But if this latter part of the title is late, may not the remainder of it be? To

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[5] Harper, *Amos and Hosea*, clxi.

[6] Wellhausen, *KP*, pp. 96 f.; Harper, *op. cit.*, pp. 201 f.

[7] *KP*, pp. 96 f.

me the title as it stands is about what might be expected if the late author of the book wished to date his work back in the earlier time. He would be likely to name his kings in a somewhat haphazard way, careful only to mention those who ruled, both north and south, prior to the fall of their respective kingdoms. Accuracy would not be aimed at; especially as to those of the writer's contemporaries who looked back across the centuries that had intervened kings like Jeroboam II and Hezekiah loomed larger than many others. He could name Jeroboam without naming the later kings of Israel; but he could hardly think of naming Uzziah without passing on to Hezekiah. Nor do I find any evidence that the writer was not interested in Judah. Elsewhere I shall dwell upon things which lead me to believe that Judah occupied a large place in his thought; although he was on the whole less inclined to denounce the people of the South than he was to bear heavily upon those of the North.

The fact that this supposed eighth-century prophet was imaginatively conceived appears also in the narrative portions of the first three chapters. . These from the old point of view have been taken to be imaginative by some scholars; but their fictitious character appears even more unmistakably if we think of the late author as so picturing his supposed prophet. He is not narrating a tragic personal experience; nor is he imaginatively describing himself as passing through such. He is describing in a way purely imaginative the supposed tragic experience of his supposed prophet of a date centuries prior to his own time. This picture of unhappy wedded life which was designed, as worked out, to make vivid the unworthiness of Israel and Yahweh's great love and wonderful forbearance, may here be re-examined for the sake of the light such study may throw upon our discussion of the place and date of the book.

Despite the efforts of scholars to prove the contrary, the fact remains that this supposed prophet is conceived of as ordered to marry an impure woman. לֵךְ קַח־לְךָ אֵשֶׁת זְנוּנִים is really equivalent to: "Go and marry a whore." It has been remarked by Dr. Harper that "a wife of whoredoms" was "not one who was unchaste at the time of marriage, because (a) Hosea would scarcely have attributed such a command to Yahweh."[8] But may we not

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[8] Harper, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

think of a late author as imaginatively picturing his prophet as having been so commanded? He may not have expected his people to take him literally. Dr. Harper gives as another reason for not taking the command literally: "(b) this would be inconsistent with the symbolic representation which makes Israel (and, therefore, the woman) at first faithful." But may not an unchaste woman who for some years is supposed to be true to her husband, after once he has married her, rescuing her from a life of shame, the more reasonably after all be conceived of as standing symbolically for Israel? Another reason given for refusing to take the command literally is "(c) the ordinary word זנה would better have been used." True; but such awkward constructions as אשת זנונים are not exceptional in the Old Testament (see אשה זנה, in Lev. 21:7).

The names given the wife and her father and those given later to her children are such as to reveal the imaginative character of the narrative and to reinforce our conclusion that the whole narrative is late. גמר (completion or perfection), the name of the supposed wife, is not such a name as a real Israelitish woman could be expected to bear; nor is דבלים (double-cake), the name of the supposed father, a real personal name; while the names given the children, according to the narrative, are as preposterous as the names Isaiah is said to have given his children: יזרעאל (Jezreel), לא רחמה (no-mercy); לא־עמי (not-my-people). I agree with Wellhausen, who remarks: "Gomer und Diblaim sind völlig undurchsichtige Eigennamen, und als solche interessant;"[9] but I cannot say that such names really were characteristic of the time. And I cannot call attention to עמוס as a proper name belonging to the period; for עמוס, as I have elsewhere suggested, is probably a name invented and given a supposititious prophet. The first son was to bear the name יזרעאל, not because of its significance, but because Yahweh was to visit the blood shed at יזרעאל upon the house of Jehu (יהוא) and to cause the kingdom of the house of Israel to cease. The name the daughter was said to bear was equally improbable as a name actually borne, לא רחמה (unpitied). The second son was to be called לא־עמי (not-my-people), another preposterous name.

But the first three chapters, which form a section by themselves,

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[9] *KP*, p. 97.

apart from the title, the names of the supposed actors, and the nature of the part which the prophet is made to play, bear many marks of being late as well as purely imaginative. The thought of the people and of the land as guilty of whoredom, of infidelity to Yahweh, 1:2, because other gods than Yahweh were worshiped by the people is a late thought. It at least is not earlier than the Deuteronomists, who seem to have been responsible for it, as we see from Deut. 31:16; Ex. 34:15, 16; Judges 2:17; 8:27, 33, etc., all of which passages presumably are deuteronomic. It certainly may be seriously questioned whether there was any real intention of endeavoring to discourage such worship until the Deuteronomists with their more exclusive ideals as ardent monotheists arose and taught in the exilic time. There is no mistaking the force of the verse from which the above words are taken, though the construction is awkward. The prophet is instructed to take as wife a lewd woman and through her to beget children that will be lewd that the wife may stand forth for faithless, recreant Israel. Whom the children stand for it is not easy to decide. Presumably the symbolic language should not be pressed so far as to attempt this. It is not they, but their names, which seem to have significance. We are more concerned to fix approximately the time, to place the book which contains these three chapters where it belongs. The words "for yet a little while, and I will avenge the blood of Jezreel upon the house of Jehu," vs. 4, are manifestly retrospective. The author endeavors to take his people back in thought to a time prior to the fall of the house of Jehu and make them see that the end of that dynasty, which he may have confounded with the end of North Israel as a kingdom, was in the nature of a divine judgment. Thus most forcibly could he make those whom he in the late time addressed feel the peril in which they had placed themselves by their lawlessness and infidelity to Yahweh.

It is evident from 1:5 that the author was not one who lived in the time of Jeroboam II and predicted the fall of North Israel, but one who lived long subsequent thereto and so was able to look back upon that event and yet, having thrown himself in thought back into that earlier time, adopt the language of prediction. The same may be said of vss. 6 and 9. Especially is this true of the words "for I

will remove them utterly." Even in the midst of the most severe arraignment of his people the writer makes it very evident that he believes that they may be brought back to their supposed allegiance to Yahweh, 2:4–15. The people are to be pleaded with, if perchance they may be lured from their idolatry (vs. 4). They are to be hedged about and kept from their old worship (vss. 8, 9). They are to be subjected to such discipline that they will turn naturally to Yahweh their God, to whom their fathers were supposed to be loyally attached in the early time. One cannot forbear thinking that the writer had in mind not merely the discipline of foreign tyranny which the people at home were groaning under, but also, and perhaps especially, the trials and disappointments of those living abroad as exiles from their fatherland. Such trying experiences must have proved disciplinary, not alone because they would necessitate physical suffering but also because they would interrupt the observance of special feast-days and the more common religious rites without which life must have seemed impossible (vs. 13). They would also cut them off very largely from the enjoyment of the products of their fields (vss. 10, 14). Such words as we find in chap. 2:4–15 are as manifestly *post-eventum* as the most radiant zionistic passages. They have to do with things suffered by the land and people and with the social and religious conditions of the Persian time.

It seems reasonable to look upon chap. 3 as a sort of supplement to chaps. 1 and 2, a supplement in which the supposed prophet gets back the wife who had forsaken him, for though אשה may stand for any woman without ה, it may also be rendered "wife." This seems from the nature of the narrative what was intended to be conveyed by the writer. Having secured her, the prophet was to shut her away from her lovers (cf. 2:8, 9). Here again we seem to have an allusion to the exilic time and to the exclusion of the people from their land and its old-time worship. ימים רבים is indefinite, but it is in accord with Hebrew usage to regard it as referring to such a period as that of the exile.

But what, it may be asked, of the remaining chapters of the book? What of the ampler data that have to do with the moral and religious status of the people? We may look first at some of the data having to do with North Israel, more particularly the data

which have to do with the land and the political and social welfare
of the people; for it was this part of the land which claimed much,
though by no means all, of the author's attention, as we later on
shall see. The larger part of the above-mentioned mass of data is
such as leads me to believe that this prophetic writer wrote of condi-
tions he was facing and facing not in the time prior to the fall of
Samaria but long subsequent thereto. It remains to be seen whether,
here and elsewhere, I can make this evident. We look, then, at the
condition of things which existed in the North.

The land seems to have been suffering because of the lawlessness,
greed, and want of neighborliness on the part of the people. At once
we come upon the announcement of the fact that Yahweh has a con-
troversy with the inhabitants of the land, 4:1. We learn to dis-
tinguish between such allusions in the prophetic writings and those
which have to do with, or which include, the *Golah*.[10] The people had
displeased Yahweh by their lust and cruelty. They are charged with
אלה כחש, גנב, רצח, נאף, and other crimes.[11] So was the
land given over to violence that the writer declared "blood touches
blood," 4:2, which virtually is saying that deeds of blood follow
one another in close succession. This probably was an exaggeration;
but it must be accepted as calling attention to a very unhappy state
of affairs. This is made more apparent by references to organized
highway robbery (7:1; cf. 5:1; 6:9). This occurred not only at
home; but their outlaws carried their lawlessness over into Gilead,
priests and prophets, forgetful of their calling, joining in such outrage
for the sake of spoil. The common greed and inhumanity of the
people found classic expression in 4:1, "because there is no truth,
nor goodness, nor knowledge of God in the land," (cf. 6:4, 6). The
want of knowledge of Yahweh with which the people were so fre-
quently charged seems to have referred not alone to a failure to
regard him and his תורה, which in its earlier deliverances and
codifications had to do with the relations the Hebrew sustained to
his fellow Hebrew, but also to a want of regard for religious values
generally (4:6; 5:4; 6:3, etc.). In the midst of all this social
anarchy there seems to have been a failure on the part of the properly

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[10] See Joel 1:2, 14; 2:1; Zeph. 1:18; cf. Jer. 28:6; 29:4; Zach. 6:10.

[11] See 4:2; 7:1–4; 9:13; 10:13; 11:6; 12:8.

constituted authorities to administer justice in the local tribunals (5:11; cf. 7:7. See especially עָשׁוּק אֶפְרַיִם רְצוּץ מִשְׁפָּט, which is happily rendered by Wellhausen: "Bedrückung und Rechtsbruch herrschen in Ephraim").

Closely connected with this prevailing greed, treachery, and lawlessness was the failure of crops and the decline in population, which last, as we shall see later, was owing more to the migrations of the people abroad than to the disorder and crime at home (7:14; 8:7; 9:11, 12, 13, 16, etc.). Even passages in which the author, reminding himself that he had dated his book back in the early time, sounds the predictive note, manifestly had in mind a glory that had departed (6:4; 13:3, etc.).

But what of Judah? Were things really so much better there? While there is not as frequent mention of lawlessness in Judah, there are allusions to an unhappy state of affairs. After alluding to the violence and infidelity to Yahweh in the North and declaring that Ephraim shall fall in consequence, this prophetic writer adds that Judah shall fall with them; we are left to infer for similar offenses (5:4 f.). The leaders, or chiefs, of Judah are specially mentioned as lawless (5:10). In 5:13 we are told that Judah saw מְזֹרוֹ (his wound or injury). This assertion virtually places Judah as an afflicted land on a plane with North Israel. This again is true of 6:4 and 11. In the first verse the question which is sadly raised as to Judah is similar to that put in the mouth of Yahweh concerning Ephraim. In the second verse, mentioned above, the assertion is that a harvest, or reckoning, is in store for Judah. Still again Yahweh, we are told, has a controversy with Judah (12:3); which may be taken as explaining why he is said to have exclaimed that he would be as rottenness to Judah and again in almost the same breath that he would be as a young lion that rends ere he leaves his victim, to this same people. It is significant that Dr. Harper substitutes יִשְׂרָאֵל for יְהוּדָה in 5:10, 12, 13, 14, and 12:3.[12] In 5:5 he lets יְהוּדָה stand; but omits it in 6:4.[13] In 6:11 he takes the reference to "Judah" to be an evident gloss.[14] In 12:1 he lets "Judah" stand; but he translates the statement in a way I cannot

[12] *Op. cit.*, pp. 275, 277 f., 378.
[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 270, 285. [14] *Ibid.*, p. 291.

accept. The words ויהודה עד רד עם־אל ועם־קדושים נאבן may far better be rendered as Gesenius long ago suggested: "Judah yet runs wild from Yahweh and his holy ones."[15] Dr. Harper's handling of the above passages may be regarded as suggesting the need of a new point of view in approaching the text of this prophetic book. From the old point of view it seems unreasonable to expect more than the most meager allusions to Judah, and those of a fairly commendatory character. If, however, we look upon this book as an exilic production of the Persian time we need not be surprised to find statements which reveal an unhappy state of things in the South as well as the North.

The rulers and chiefs of the people in both parts of Canaan, but more especially in the North, seem to have encouraged rather than restrained the people. In 5:10, as we have seen, the chiefs or rulers of Judah are likened in their lawlessness to those who remove land-marks, or boundary-stones. In 9:15, Yahweh is made to say of the chiefs or rulers that they are rebellious; but inasmuch as there is reference here to his house, which presumably was in Jerusalem, and to the wicked whom he purposed to drive therefrom, we may believe that leaders of Judah as well as of Ephraim were in his mind. In 5:1, where a note of warning was sounded against the house of the king, it is unquestionably North Israel the prophetic writer has in mind, although the term מלך may covertly have been used to designate the Persian satrap or governor. The want of character on the part of their rulers in the North appears clearly in 7:3 ff., where the people are said to gladden their king, or governor, with their wickedness and their chiefs with their falsehoods. Such heads of state, especially if they chanced to be foreign deputies, might be very ready to encourage a certain amount of lawlessness if only the taxes levied were promptly paid into their treasuries. It should be very evident that the North Israelitish line of kings had already become extinct, that Samaria had long since fallen (8:5; 10:5–7; 14:1), and that her kings were no more (7:16; 10:7, 15; 13:11). Hence such rulers as they had were petty, characterless satraps and officials of the Persian overlord. It was not safe for the author to speak plainly of these; so he used circumspectly the term מלך,

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 376.

which could be used appropriately of any ruler, and the term שַׂר,
which could be used of a ruler, chief, or subordinate, or even of a
noble who had no official status. These rulers might not only
wink at lawlessness, but they could show themselves lewd and
drunken (4:18; 7:3–6). They could also do what no native
king was likely to do—bring to naught the local tribunals. This
universal lawlessness, rendered all the worse, especially in the North,
because of the weakness and unworthiness of the rulers, seems to
have accounted in part for the foreign-mania which was so offensive
to the writer.

The people of Ephraim and Judah, we are told, finding themselves
in distress went abroad, or sent abroad (יָלַךְ and שָׁלַח both are
used). The passage, like other kindred ones in this prophetic book,
is highly rhetorical. As the second clause in 5:13 (וִיהוּדָה
אֶת־מְזֹרוֹ) balances the first (וַיַּרְא אֶפְרַיִם אֶת־חָלְיוֹ), so perhaps the
fourth should balance the third. Hence as we have וַיֵּלֶךְ אֶפְרַיִם
אֶל־אַשּׁוּר we should also have וַיִּשְׁלַח יְהוּדָה אֶל־מֶלֶךְ יָרֵב, sup-
plying יְהוּדָה. Dr. Harper, who substituted יִשְׂרָאֵל for יְהוּדָה
in the second clause above, naturally inserts יִשְׂרָאֵל here.[16]
Of course it must be understood that here and throughout the
book אַשּׁוּר stands for the East, as is often the case in the pro-
phetic writings, especially in the Book of Isaiah; as Egypt stands
for the West. Here we have מֶלֶךְ יָרֵב, the hostile king, which
stands for any hostile power. Nor need the passage be taken as
referring to anything in the nature of an embassy; for the writer
may have had in mind nothing more than the general disposition to
go abroad for economic and social reasons on the part of the people
both north and south who had lost interest or faith in their father-
land. This conception comes out more clearly in 7:8, where it is
said of Ephraim that he has mixed himself with the peoples. They
appear to have been fast losing their identity as a tribe; for not only
was there a constant movement abroad, but foreigners were coming
in and possessing themselves of their substance, a movement that it
is to be presumed foreign satraps favored (see 7:9; 8:7; cf. II Kings
17:24 ff.). It may be that this latter passage is but a legend or
folk-tale in which an effort is made to explain in the late time how it

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[16] *Op. cit.*, p. 277.

was that so many foreigners were located in the North. Having
been encouraged by Persian satraps to locate there, late historians
of Israel might speak of them and their descendants as in the above
passage. The deterioration in Ephraim, as it appears to the writer,
the loss of national character through foreign admixture and the
aping of foreign ways, is expressed in a forceful phrase עגה בלי־
הפוכה, a cake not baked, i. e., baked only on one side. But the
author's apt characterizations do not stop here. He declares that
Ephraim is like a silly timid dove. The people call upon Egypt; they
go to Assyria, i. e., in their extremity they look both west and east
for relief and migrate thither in increasing numbers (7:11). Having
lost faith in their land and its gods they go abroad. There may have
been in this verse a reminiscence of the time when their kings in
Israel and Judah looked abroad for help; but covertly at least the
foreign-mania of the people was rebuked (cf. 7:12–16). According
to 8:8, Israel was swallowed up among the nations. It seemed to
the writer apparently that the major part of the people had gone
abroad, had expatriated themselves. So far removed was he from
any of the forced migrations that he does not speak of these. Accord-
ing to 8:9 the people like a solitary ass have found their way East
without a leader or guide. In doing so they have sold themselves
to the nations (vss. 9b, 10a); while according to 9:17 their God is
said to have cast them away because of their infidelity to him and
so has forced them to become wanderers among the nations. Here
the writer, changing his point of view, indulges in the thought, for
evident reasons—for could he not thus discourage such migrations?—
that these people who have gone abroad have virtually been cast
away by their God. In 9:3 the disposition to go is so alluded to
as to lead it to be inferred that the writer looked upon the move-
ment as forced by the exigencies of their situation, owing to a
failure of crops and Yahweh's displeasure: "They shall not dwell
in Yahweh's land; but Ephraim shall return to Egypt, and they
shall eat unclean food in Assyria." This thought that their exile
had been decreed seems to find still further expression in vs. 6, where
the writer exclaims: "For, lo, they are gone away unto Assyria,"[17]
and adds: "Egypt shall gather them up, Memphis shall bury them,"

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[17] I accept Wellhausen's emendation, אשור for משד, KP, p. 123.

thus suggesting to them the thought of the improbability of their ever returning wherever they might go. Omitting the לא , as we must, in 11:5, we read what the author says of Ephraim ישוב אל־ארץ מצרים ואשור הוא מלכו , which may have the force of the present: "He returns to the land of Egypt and Assyria is his king," i. e., he spreads himself over both the East and the West. The friendliness of attitude toward foreign lands appears in 12:2, where it is declared: "and they make a covenant with Assyria, and oil is carried into Egypt." This may be in part reminiscent of old times and the disposition to endeavor to win the favor of neighboring peoples; but it is best not to take it literally, for only in the early days of the northern kingdom was there, so far as we know, any effort to curry favor with Egypt. We rather are to suppose that the author has in mind a general disposition in the late time to regard foreign nations favorably as far superior to their own. The frequent mention of Assyria, or the East, leads us to surmise that Persia, or more particularly, perhaps, Babylon, was looked upon as the coveted goal of those who dreamed of riches gotten in trade or of the wisdom secured through schools and libraries. Dr. Harper translates 13:7, "And so I will be to them like a lion, like a leopard on the way to Assyria."[18] This agrees with Wellhausen, who renders the last clause, the doubtful one: "Auf dem Wege nach Assur."[19] I heartily endorse this translation. Certainly, too, I must regard vs. 8 a part of the threat which was intended to discourage the emigration of the peoples abroad.

There are passages, we should not fail to notice, in which there are allusions to wealth and prosperity. We may admit, bad as things were, that the author, like other prophetic writers, took too pessimistic a view of the situation, that so far as the migrations abroad were concerned other than economic reasons were often operative, and that so far as the conditions at home were concerned, life and crops were probably more secure than he pictured them. We know northern Palestine well enough to believe that agriculturally it probably quickly responded to the farmer and recovered from the conquests which preceded the Persian period. The Book of Amos, which I take to belong to about the same time as Hosea, alluded to

[18] *Op. cit.*, p. 398.   [19] *KP*, p. 19.

evidences of wealth in North Israel, although the writer reveals that it was in the hands of the few rather than the many (see 4:1; 6:1, etc.). In 12:9 Ephraim is represented as saying: "Surely I am become rich, I have found me wealth." This assertion so closely follows the charge brought against him as a merchant כנען that one is left to infer that the substance referred to had been largely secured by traffic at home or trade abroad. This statement taken alone would suggest a late date, to say nothing of the fact that the term כנען, for trader, is unquestionably late (see Job 40:30; Zach. 14:21; Isa. 23:8; Zeph. 1:11). However gained, the writer here reveals to us the fact that there was wealth in Ephraim, despite the unsettled condition and the poverty of the masses. In harmony with this is the allusion in 8:14 to large buildings in the North, presumably private dwellings, היכלות and ארמנות (cf. Amos, ארמון, 6:8; cf. 2:5, and הבית הגדול, 6:11, also בית־החרף עֿל־בית הקיץ, 3:15). There is also allusion to newly walled cities in Judah, 8:14. Such prosperity as is thus alluded to, though enjoyed only by the few, may account for the pride or arrogance of which there is unfriendly mention (5:5; 7:14). In part this may have had reference to the people abroad; but surely it was not wholly addressed to them.

It seems to me we have here in the mass of data that has to do with the unsettled state of the land and the consequent want of security of life and property, with the general low tone of morals and the weakness and want of character on the part of the rulers and the nobles, and with migrations of the people to other lands, material that forces upon us the conclusion that this prophetic book cannot have been written earlier than the Persian time. That life was somewhat insecure in the North in the decades which immediately preceded the fall of Samaria we must believe; and that it was wanting in moral soundness we must also believe; but that it was as unsettled as it continued to be for two or three centuries later seems unlikely. Organized bands of highwaymen probably did not go about; nor can we believe that the administration of justice in local tribunals utterly broke down. Then, too, while the rulers were unprincipled to a considerable extent, especially in the North, it is hardly likely that they were as inclined to wink at lawlessness, or to league them-

selves with evil-doers, as in the later period the rulers were. I can understand why some scholars delete all references to an unhappy state of things in Judea or substitute Israel for Judah in such passages, because such statements, if allowed to stand, must be considered late. But I greatly prefer to let them stand; and to speak of them as data which point to the late date of the book.

Nothing, however, in the passages we have considered, more surely reveals the fact that the book is late than the allusions to the foreign-mania of the people and the constant streaming of life abroad. We may say very confidently that there were few who went either east or west to reside prior to the conquest of the land by foreign powers; nor is it likely that many went before the days of Persian supremacy or overlordship; although it is admitted that the two kingdoms learned to lean on foreign overlords long before they fell. After the conquest there seem to have been decades when under certain satraps life was more secure, more remunerative, and happier abroad than at home. So into the East, especially to Babylon, and into the West, i. e., into Egypt, the Asiatic Greek colonies, etc., the people of Israel passed. For various reasons it seemed unwise for prophetic writers of the Persian time to mention the exact destination of different migrations of their people. Perhaps they could not do so because they distributed themselves over such wide areas. To avoid unpleasantness, or for convenience' sake, Assyria came to stand for the East and Egypt for the West. The fact that they dated their writing back into the days of the kings would make it seem the more reasonable to use these geographical names.

Those who look, as I do, upon the Deuteronomists as reformers who did their work in the early exilic time, who believe, as I do, that there was no serious effort to abolish the many local shrines and the abuses which had flourished in and around them prior to their time can have no trouble with the religious data of this prophetic book. While they may admit that most things denounced flourished in the eighth and seventh centuries B. C., they see no reason for supposing that a much better state of things existed in the early Persian time. Though the Deuteronomists had labored, or were laboring, indefatigably, it is presumable they made slow work of radically changing the customs of their people and uniting them in the common

worship of Yahweh.   The fact that this prophetic writer denounced most of the religious customs and practices of his day is to be noted; for these were such as were abhorrent to a devout worshiper of Yahweh.

They sacrificed and burnt incense, we are told, upon high places, the hills of the land, and under sacred trees (4:12, 15; 10:8).   It is likely that such neighborhood worship long continued.   Only the growing popularity of the temple service in Jerusalem in the post-exilic time and the local synagogues that were established upon the return of the *Golah* throughout the land could have reduced such popular worship to the minimum.   Even now, as the late Professor Curtis has shown, there are unmistakable traces of such worship among the poor peasants of Palestine and Syria.   The Baal cult is mentioned as flourishing; but Astarte does not find mention.   This, however, cannot be taken as indicating any failure on the part of the people to pay homage to that popular eastern goddess; for idols, or images, are mentioned, some of which presumably were used in her worship.   This prophetic writer was not so much interested in specifying the various forms of idolatry as he was in denouncing all worship of other gods as whoredom, or infidelity to Yahweh (see 4:12; 5:3; 6:10, etc.).   Associated with this worship there was gross drunkenness and lewdness (4:11; 7:14; 9:4); and especially (4:13 f.) where both sexes are spoken of as going up to those high places for immoral purposes.   Even in Judah things were so bad as regards such worship that a caution was addressed to the people; and there presumably the deuteronomic reformation was under way (4:15).

But despite all the attention given to other gods, Yahweh was zealously worshiped, though presumably with rites and ceremonies, and withal images, which were exceedingly offensive to such a man as the author of this book (5:6; 8:13, etc.).   As in the days of another prophetic writer the zeal of the people in their Yahweh-worship was denounced as displeasing to their God (5:6; 6:6; 8:13; 9:4 f.; cf. Isa. 1:11 ff.).   Indeed we read of an increase of altars, so religious were the people (8:11; 10:1; 12:12).   This worship seems to have been in the hands of priests who were even more disreputable than the worshipers (4:6–9; 5:1; 6:9; 10:5).

Some of the punishments mentioned must have long before come upon them. It is presumable that the calves of Samaria had been destroyed (8:6; cf.; 10:5); that Samaria had fallen (8:5 ff.; 10:5; 14:1); and that the people no longer had a king of their own (10:7, 15). Even the migrations of the people to other lands were considered by the writer as in the nature of judgments of Yahweh (9:3 ff., 15). The time of this writer is here spoken of as a time of recompense, a day of visitation, because Yahweh was conceived of as having forsaken them and their land. When the writer prays that their women may miscarry in childbirth and that their breasts may dry up we appreciate that his feelings have overmastered him or that his pen has run wild (9:14); but beneath all his rhetorical flights we discover evidences of a state of things most distressing. Judah, he intimates, has been false to her God and cannot escape the common lot of the recreant (5:5; 6:11, etc.). The writer dwells upon Yahweh's affliction of the land in words of not a little poetic beauty; but in words that are none the less forceful because they are beautiful (4:3, 19; 6:3 f.; 8:7; 9:2, 11; 13:3).

The traces of the influence of the Deuteronomists seem to me to be numerous and to favor my conviction that we have here a late work. Not only do I find such deuteronomic phrases and clauses as reveal the influence of the deuteronomic school, or the Book of Deuteronomy; but I also find considerable sympathy with deuteronomic ideals. There are also little things here and there that lead me to suppose that the Deuteronomists were still at work in the interests of the new Yahwism and were specially endeavoring to purify and centralize worship. We may pass over the first three chapters, which are nothing if they are not in substantial sympathy with the loftier deuteronomic ideals; and may confine our attention to the remainder of the book.

There is, as we would naturally expect to find in one in sympathy with deuteronomic ideals, hostility to high places, to worship under sacred trees, and at such sanctuaries as Bethel and Gilgal (4:15; 5:8; 9:15; 10:5, 8, 15; 12:12). Therewith we discover unfriendliness to the many altars of the land (8:11; 10:2, 8; 12:12). The writer's allusions to the house of Yahweh seem to reveal favor for a central sanctuary and to suggest that there was but one whose

legitimacy was not questioned by him.    He represents Yahweh as saying: "On account of the evil of their doings I will drive them from my house."    I cannot agree with Dr. Harper, who says: "The house here is not the temple, but Palestine, the land of Israel," [20] a remark which he consistently repeats in connection with most of the allusions to a house of Yahweh in the text of this book.    I fail to see how any other house than the house of Yahweh in Jerusalem was meant; though it may not have been the temple of post-exilic Judaism.    The reference to בית יהוה in 8:1 is found in a forceful simile; but the reference is all the more suggestive of the fact that the house of Yahweh to which he alluded was well known. In 9:4 it is said of the bread of mourning, or of their food which is like it, that it shall not come in the house of Yahweh.    This is not, as Dr. Harper suggests, any place consecrated to Yahweh; but the temple itself, his house in Jerusalem.[21]    In 9:15, a passage alluded to above, it is evident that the prophetic writer felt that most of the people were unworthy to worship Yahweh in his house in Jerusalem. He seems to have been as interested in bringing the people to such a standard of conduct as would fit them for the new worship as the Deuteronomists were to make the temple and its worship in Jerusalem all that they felt it ought to be.

There is on the part of the writer hostility to idolatry in all its forms, such as only one imbued with the sentiments of Deuteronomists could be expected to manifest (8:4; 10:1 f.; 13:2).    Then the thought of idolatry as whoredom, or infidelity to Yahweh, is especially deuteronomic (4:12; 5:4; 9:1, etc.; cf. Deut. 31:16; Exod. 34:15, which presumably are deuteronomic).    While there is no reference in this prophetic book to the Levitical priesthood of the Deuteronomists, there is a horror of the priests who are scattered through the land that is itself deuteronomic.    To the writer there is no God but Yahweh (13:4; cf. Deut. 5:7; 7:9, etc.).    Forgetfulness of Yahweh is something with which this writer charges his people again and again (4:1, 6; 6:6; etc.).    This the Deuteronomists abhorred (Deut. 6:12; 8:11; 9:23, etc.).    Therewith is the thought of the evil of fullness or satiety as leading to such forgetfulness (12:9; 13:6; cf. Deut. 6:11 f; 8:10–13).    Then, too, there is an

[20] *Op. cit.*, p. 339.          [21] *Op. cit.*, p. 329.

unfriendliness to horses, perhaps for the same reason as the Deuter-
onomists abhorred them, because they were obtained from Egypt
and seemed to bring with them a love of war and of Egyptian
customs (14:4; cf. Deut. 17:16).

The writer's opposition to the professional prophetic class seems
to be deuteronomic (4:5; 9:7 f.; cf. Deut. 13:1–5). The thought
that by a prophet Yahweh brought his people out of Egypt is in
harmony with Deut. 18:15 (12:14). There are other historical
allusions that remind us of similar ones in Deuteronomy. There is
the writer's mention of Baal-Peor, which is in the tone of a Deuter-
onomist, and of Admah and Zeboim (9:10; 11:8; cf. Deut. 4:3;
29:23).

Then, too, I find words and phrases which are characteristically
deuteronomic: as שקוץ (9:10; cf. Deut. 29:16; I Kings 11:5, 7;
II King 23:13, 24, all of which passages are deuteronomic. Even the
verb which does not appear in J E is found in Deut.); and יסורו בי
(7:14; cf. Deut. 9:12; 11:16; 17:20); and כי מרתה באלהיה
(14:1; cf. Deut. 1:26, 43; 9:7, 23); and חרון אפי (11:9; cf.
Deut. 13:18 and passages in the historical books which seem to
have deuteronomic coloring). The verb, חרה, it should be noticed,
is specially characteristic of the Deuteronomists. See also שחת
(Hos. 9:9; 11:9; 13:9; cf. Deut. in which it is a very common verb).
יפקוד חטאתם of Hos. 9:9 (cf. 4:9, 14; 8:13; 12:3) reminds us of a
deuteronomic phrase פקד עון in Deut. 5:9 (cf. Exod. 20:5; 32:34;
34:7) which passages I take to be deuteronomic.

In his abstract conception of משפט (5:1, 11; 10:4; 12:7)
the writer finds no point of contact with the Deuteronomists; but
when he speaks of Yahweh's משפטים he does (6:5; cf. Deut. 8:11;
11:1; 26:17, etc.). Then, too, the writer's attitude toward the
תורה is characteristically deuteronomic (4:6; 8:1, etc.; cf. Deut.
17:11–19; 27:26; 28:58, 61). Indeed, one wonders if we have not
in Hos. 8:12, אכתוב־לו רבי תורתי, a reference to the deutero-
nomic codification. Surely the writer's concern for the covenant
is deuteronomic (6:7; 8:1; 10:4; cf. Deut. 4:23; 5:2; etc.).
Even in his hostility to a covenant with foreigners the writer shows
his deuteronomic bent (12:2; cf. Deut. 7:2).

Finally there is another and most important reason which I have

for regarding Hosea as a late pseudephigraphic book.   It is that by
so regarding it we may retain as an integral part of it the messianic, the
optimistic, or, as I prefer to call them, the zionistic passages because
they were addressed to the *Golah* and intended to incite them to return.
Modern scholars, like Wellhausen abroad and Harper and H. P. Smith
at home reject these passages, looking upon them as indubitably late,
as they are, and as additions to the text.   While it may be admitted
that they often seem abrupt, to break in twain the passages into
which they are thrust;  and even in some instances seem to contradict
the messages of woe or doom which they follow, I am inclined to
look upon them as what might be expected, as indeed the words
which this writer, as I have intimated already, wished especially to
say and to say most clearly and effectively.   I have been led to
surmise that the words of warning and of doom were more pessimistic
than they need have been, that the author designed them to
serve as a sort of dark background for his radiant zionistic pictures;
not but that there were evils that moved him at times.   We must
take up, one by one, the more important zionistic passages in order
to grasp this side of the writer's thought, determine its relation to
his less joyous words and its bearing on questions having to do with
the date and authorship of this little book.

Following the fateful words which the writer puts in the mouth
of Yahweh in 1:9: "for ye are not my people, and I will not be
your God," we have the sublime assurance: "Yet the number of the
children of Israel shall be as the sand of the sea, which cannot be
measured nor numbered; and it shall come to pass, that, in the place
where it was said unto them, Ye are not my people, it shall be said
unto them, Ye are the sons of the living God.   And the children of
Judah and the children of Israel shall be gathered together, and they
shall appoint themselves one head, and shall come up out of the
earth; for great shall be the day of Jezreel."   It is easy to see why this
passage should be taken as a late insertion.   In the first place, the
transition from the preceding verse is very abrupt.   Such a transi-
tion is not, however, to be avoided by deleting this passage, for in
2:3 we find: אמרו לאחיכם עמי ולאחותיכם רחמה.   Then the
passage has been rejected as a part of the original text, because it is
a *Golah* passage, because it has to do with the scattered people of

both Israel and Judah, their return in large numbers to the land and their union as one nation under a single head. The deportations are in the distant past; the people have long been living abroad and presumably have been joined by thousands of their countrymen. The very fact that the "children of Judah" are mentioned as return- ing with the "children of Israel" is significant of a late date. But I prefer to retain the passage and to assume it to be one of many indications of the late composition of the entire book. I of course translate וְעָלוּ מִן־הָאָרֶץ, "and they shall come up out of the earth," for אֶרֶץ very frequently has this signification. It is note- worthy that כִּי גָדוֹל יוֹם יִזְרְעֶאל refers back to 1:4, 5 which relates how the supposed prophet was instructed to give his son symbolically the name יִזְרְעֶאל (אֵל hath planted). As once the day of יִזְרְעֶאל had been a day of great slaughter, so once again it is to witness a mighty deliverance. It is not the first thought that interests the writer, save that it may serve as a warning to the recreant people of his time, so much as it is the second thought that dominates his mind in writing this portion of his prophetic piece. In this assertion his thought for· the time finds its culmination. All else is contributory to it.

The next zionistic passage is a long and inspiring one; but it can hardly be understood apart from the passages with which it is inter- woven. It is found in 2:16–25; and may best be examined in parts. It will be noticed that it is a sort of expansion of 2:1, 2. Instead of repeating what he has already said, the writer amplifies the thought of that passage by giving certain details which are necessary to the perfectness of his picture. His instincts seemed to be those of a literary artist. He who throughout his work has many historical reminiscences seems just here to have in mind the old J E story of Yahweh's luring Israel from Egypt out into the wilderness where he could comfort and instruct the people. The people in foreign lands are being lured (this seems to be the force of the particip. מְפַתֶּיהָ) and brought back by desert ways in which Yahweh who leads them may speak comforting words (2:16). Up through עֵמֶק עָכוֹר לְפֶתַח תִּקְוָה they are to come, he says (2:17). It is not likely that many of the *Golah* found their way home up through this vale, any more than it is that they lingered in desert places along the way; but the

poetic language, touched with reminiscences of the experiences of
their fathers, would appeal to them.   In the new day when Yahweh's
people are restored to the land they are no longer to address him as
בעל , a word long associated with another deity; but a term that has no
such association is to be used (2:18 f.).   Then the land is to be made
secure as a place of abode; for a ברית is to be made with all wild
beasts and noxious reptiles (2:20a; cf. Isa. 11:6–9; Ezek. 34:25);
the implements of war are also to be destroyed and an era of peace
is to be inaugurated (2:20b; cf. Isa. 2:4; Ps. 72).   This assurance
of security ( והשכבתים לבטח ) is one of the commonest in these
*Golah* passages (Jer. 23:6; 32:37; 33:16; Ezek. 28:26; 34:25,
27 f.; 38:8, etc.).   Like other prophetic writers who had much to
say about the unsettled state of the land, this writer must draw a
different picture of what was to be in the new day or he could not
hope to lure home the *Golah*.   In that time the people are to be
betrothed to Yahweh forever, in a union which is not only to be
closer but one which is to be ethical in character (2:21 f.).   Like vss.
18 f. these verses link this passage indissolubly with what precedes
2:16.   Yet the one verb, ארש, which more than any other forms
the link which binds this passage to the foregoing and at the same
time gives the assertion its most distinctive character as a *Golah*
passage is not found elsewhere in the prophetic writings.   We are
told that the result of this more intimate union of Yahweh with his
people will be: וידעת את־יהוה.   This, as we have seen, was
considered by this prophet as a desideratum.   The need of it
appears in passages that are not zionistic.   Then follows a passage,
thoroughly characteristic of the *Golah* passages, in which there is
assurance of abundant harvests in the new day (2:23 f.; cf. Amos
9:14; Ezek. 34:27; 36:30, etc.).   The redeemed people are to be
sown in the land and are to prosper as those upon whom Yahweh
has had mercy and to whom in consequence he has become
known (2:25).   While this last verse is unmistakably zionistic it
none the less surely links the passage in which it is found with what
precedes it.

We come upon another radiant passage in 3:4 f.   The children
of Israel who live without rulers or chiefs of their own and without
their idols and sacrifices can be none other than those scattered

abroad (3:4). ימים רבים is an indefinite period; but it may
stand for years if not for centuries. All this, however, is but pre-
liminary to what follows, which has to do with the return and the
re-establishment of the people under a new Davidic king: "after-
ward shall the children of Israel return and seek Yahweh their God,
and David their king, and shall come with fear unto Yahweh and to
his goodness in the latter days," 3:5. The preceding verse would
hardly be explicable were it not for this; but this goes far beyond
2:1 f. in its assurances, especially in that it names the king as belong-
ing to the house of David. This was one of the characteristic utter-
ances of the zionistic thought (Jer. 30:9; Ezek. 34:23 f.). The
fact that David is spoken of as "their king," whom they are to seek,
is in harmony with 2:2 which alludes to the children of Judah and
the children of Israel as coming together under one head. Well-
hausen regards "David, their king," as a Judaic interpolation; but I
cannot so consider it. The phrase "in the latter days" might seem
to put the return in the remote future; but it need not be so regarded,
for in other passages, admittedly late, it occurs as referring to an
event in the near future (Isa. 2:2; Jer. 49:39).

In 6:1–3 we find the prophetic writer pleading with the people
to return to Yahweh that he may heal them. They are assured
that he will revive and bless them, even as the rain refreshes the
earth. While this passage unquestionably has in mind primarily a
moral and religious reformation, or return, it seems to be in the
nature of an appeal to the *Golah* at the same time. The thought
of healing seems to have been associated quite generally with
the thought of the return (14:5; cf. Jer. 30:17; 33:6; Isa.
57:19). The verb רפא here seems to connect this verse with 5:13
where the people are reminded that they have not found healing
abroad. The thought that the new day will be a time of abundance
of rain is not novel (Ezek. 34:26). Nor is the thought that
through Yahweh they are to be made to live (Ezek. 37:5–14; Zach.
10:9).

In 6:11b we unmistakably have a *Golah* passage בשובי שבות
עמי, the brevity of which seems to increase its force; but what is
specially conspicuous is its close connection with what precedes.
There is to be a day of reckoning for Judah when the *Golah* is brought

back.    Dr. Harper has to retain this,[22] although he fails to grasp its real significance.

In 8:10a גם כי יתנו בגוים עתה אקבצם we have a zionistic passage which is closely connected with other parts of this little book; for friendliness to other powers and emigrations abroad are often, as we have seen, alluded to.    Despite all this, we are told, Yahweh is to gather his people.    There is no occasion for the latter assertion were it not for the preceding clause.[23]    Even the latter part of the verse may be considered zionistic if it is rendered: "Now may they soon leave off the burden of the chief of rulers," i. e., the Persian satraps.    Here, if we are right, the prophetic writter was mistaken; for the people long remained under foreign rule.

Very tender and reassuring is 11:11: "They shall come trembling as a bird out of Egypt, and as a dove out of the land of Assyria; and I will make them to dwell in their houses, saith Yahweh."    While these words add little to the zionistic passages, they do reveal that the *Golah* scattered in all parts east and west are to be gathered.    The verb חרד may not convey the thought of fear; it may have the force of "to hasten."

A noteworthy *Golah* passage is 13:14: "I will ransom them from the power of Sheol; I will redeem them from death: O death, where are thy plagues?    O Sheol, where is thy destruction? vengeance shall be hid from mine eyes."    Those who are living in foreign parts are conceived of as in Sheol, as dead.    In Isa. 42:7, 22 the *Golah* are pictured as in prison.    The Servant, or the True Israel, is to deliver them.    In 53:8 he is spoken of as having been himself rescued from prison.    In these passages it would seem the prison-house stands for the foreign lands in which the people were or had been scattered. It is likely that the grave, in which the Servant has been, is again the writer's conception of the exile.    It certainly is unmistakable that the author of Ezek., chap. 37, regarded those of his people who resided abroad as dead, as in their graves, (vs. 12; cf. Isa. 26:19). The people so scattered are, our author tells us, to be redeemed. The thought of redemption, so characteristic of the *Golah* passage, and really latent in certain passages in this book, is the great thought

[22] *Op. cit.*, p. 292.

[23] Harper, *op. cit.*, p. 318, where it is considered a late addition.

of this verse. The writer not only employs פרה, which occurs also in 7:13, but גאל, which does not appear elsewhere in this prophetic piece. Though the verse is a distinct addition to the zionistic thought of the book, we cannot say that it is really foreign thereto.

The whole of 14:2-9 is zionistic and is rejected by many modern scholars as late and manifestly foreign to the remainder of the book. It opens with a plea to return to Yahweh (vss. 2, 3). Even the words which the people are repentantly to repeat are put in their mouth. Though nothing is said directly of a return from foreign lands it is evident that the writer here as elsewhere had the thought of this double return in mind (cf. 3:5; 5:4; 6:1, 11; 7:10, 16, etc.). It certainly would be thoroughly in keeping with this writer's conception of the foreign-mania of his time to conceive it necessary for the people who come back to their fatherland to do so penitently as those who had wronged their God by going abroad.

In vss. 5 f., we are told what Yahweh will do in case his people respond to him. His anger being turned away he will love them and heal them. He will be to them as the dew, and so will cause them to flourish abundantly. The thought of Yahweh as the one who heals his people is a prominent thought of the book (6:1; 7:1; 11:3). Nor is the love of Yahweh for his people ignored (3:1; 11:1; cf. 9:15). The removal of his anger is elsewhere mentioned (11:9). But vs. 6 is unique in its poetic beauty among *Golah* passages. While a simile taken from the dew is in keeping with this prophetic book (6:4; 13:3), the verse is exceptional among the *Golah* passages not alone of this, but of all the prophetic books. As a result of Yahweh's favor and blessing in the new day, Israel, to whom the words are specially addressed, is to spread abroad. While the thought of the prosperity and growth of the people in the new era is not exceptional in the zionistic literature, here again we have the writer clothing his words with beautiful similes (vs. 7). In vs. 8 there is still another allusion to the return and the consequent revivifying of the people. The latter part of this verse is but an expansion of the thought of vs. 7. The remainder of the verse, though thoroughly appropriate, has not any special interest in this study. It may be granted that points of contact between almost any zionistic passage that might be selected at random and the

remainder of the book could be found; but I cannot forbear the conviction that we have here, as we have in other parts, in passages that are distinctively zionistic, an integral part of the book to which it is appended. To me such utterances are indubitably late; but they are parts of a book that need not be rejected, because it as a whole is late.

This little book is noteworthy because of its author's allusions to the folk-stories of the JE chronicles. These allusions are not always exact; nor are they always specially appropriate to the subject under discussion; but they are interesting and deserving of study (2:17; 11:1 ff.; 12:4 f., 13, etc.). While the dependence is chiefly upon J, it is not wholly; so that it is safe to say JE was known to the writer in substantially the form in which it has been passed on to us. What I am concerned to notice is that the allusions to incidents in the history of North Israel in the time to which the author assigns his book are of the same general character as his allusions to the legends of his people's past (9:17; 10:3, 7; 13:11, etc.). The passage 10:14 is specially to be examined because of its allusion to Shalmaneser IV. A tumult is to arise among the people; all the fortresses are to be spoiled, according as Shalmaneser spoiled Beth-Arbel in the day of battle. Although we are in doubt as to בית ארבאל, which seems to find mention in I Macc. 9:2, there is little doubt but that שלמן is Shalmaneser IV, who besieged Samaria and harried North Israel, 724–722; and so prepared the way for the downfall of Samaria which was captured by Sargon in 721. The tone of this allusion is such as to suggest that it was remotely reminiscent. I prefer to regard it as another mark of the late date of the book rather than to look upon it, as some do, as a late insertion.

Of the linguistic argument I am not inclined to make much, although a score or more of late words, like כנען for merchant, and some words and forms which seem to be Aramaic appear, for it may be said, as Dr. Harper has remarked, that these may be taken as evidence of the North Israelitish origin of the book. Therefore I am content to pass by the linguistic argument, save as it has incidentally come up in the course of my discussion. Such data as I have presented have for several years seemed conclusive to me. They are here set forth in the hope that question of the date and authorship of the Book of Hosea may in view of them be reopened.

# Book Notices.

## PUBLICATION OF THE EGYPTIAN MONUMENTS IN THE MUSEUM OF LEYDEN[1] (*Second Instalment*)

This second instalment of the great publication of the Egyptian monuments in the Leyden collections is a worthy successor of the first, already noticed in these pages.[2] It consists of a compact series of documents comprising the Middle Kingdom stelae of this important collection. Those falling in the obscure age between the Old and Middle Kingdoms are only two in number, leaving a series of fifty from the Middle Kingdom itself. They include all of the Leyden stelae of this age, so important for the chronology of the Twelfth Dynasty. The fifty-two stelae are reproduced by a heliotype process on forty plates. The mechanical excellence of these plates could not be surpassed. Not only the inscriptions but also all archaeological details are reproduced with clearness and beauty, making these forty plates a veritable treasury of materials for this great age. This volume together with the Cairo catalogue of Lange and Schaefer furnishes every library and university with a broad basis for the study of Middle Kingdom civilization. Dr. Boeser has supplied an excellent commentary for the plates, giving brief but clear descriptions, marked by great care and accuracy, and accompanied by a full bibliography. Besides the commentary-text, Boeser has also furnished an excellent series of exhaustive indices, including divine names, geographical names, personal proper names, titles, offices, callings, etc.

We congratulate Dr. Boeser and the Leyden Museum on this splendid instalment, continuing so worthily the high standard already established by the first section of their great publication.

James Henry Breasted

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## EGYPTIAN PALEOGRAPHY[3]

Moeller opens the preface of his great work with these words: "In der vorliegenden Arbeit ist zum ersten Mal der Versuch gemacht die

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[1] Beschreibung der Aegyptischen Sammlung des Niederländischen Reichsmuseums der Altertümer in Leiden. Die Denkmäler der Zeit zwischen dem Alten und Mittleren Reich und des Mittleren Reichs. Erste Abteilung, Stelen, von Dr. P. A. A. Boeser. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1909.

[2] *AJSL*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 264 f.

[3] Hieratische Palaeographie. Die Aegyptische Buchschrift in ihrer Entwicklung von der Fünften Dynastie bis zur römischen Kaiserzeit, dargestellt von Georg Moeller. Erster Band: Bis zum Beginn der Achtzehnten Dynastie. Zweiter Band: Von der Zeit Thutmosis' III bis zum Ende der Einundzwanzigsten Dynastie. Small folio. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1909.

hieratische Schrift in ihrem ganzen Entwicklungsgange durch drei Jahr-tausende darzustellen." The unique character of his work within the field of Egyptology is thus recognized at once. But it is not only unique within the limits of Egyptian or even of oriental studies. This work for the first time in history presents the development of a system of writing during three thousand years. Not only has no other system of writing been traced through so vast a lapse of time, but what is more to the point, no other system of writing is known which survived for three thousand years in continuous development leaving us the materials for such a study. Moeller's work therefore possesses a unique interest beyond the limits of a restricted specialty.

Egyptian writing has a special interest for us because it is the earliest writing known which employed pen, ink, and paper, these conveniences, indeed, having been bequeathed to civilization by Egypt, from which they have descended to us. The ancient oriental world elsewhere em-ployed the cumbersome and inconvenient clay tablet, with a stylus for tracing the writing. Both methods, the tablet and stylus, and paper and pen, descended to the classic world. In Crete, as far back as 2000 B. C. (Middle Minoan II), the clay tablet was used side by side with pen and ink. The clay later gave way to wax tablets; and Egyptian paper, as the supply decreased, was supplanted by parchment, until the Moslems pushed into inner Asia and brought Chinese paper to Europe. The inconvenient tablet, whether of wax or clay, naturally disappeared as the handy rolls of Egyptian papyrus appeared in the Mediterranean market. Our first record of the exportation of papyrus from Egypt is in a list of presents from Egypt made to a Phoenician king in the twelfth century B. C., as cuneiform writing and the clay tablets were disappearing in Syria. The papyrus paper of Egypt carried to Europe even some of the scribal customs on the Nile. The Egyptian scribe's habit of writing with two inks, black and red, putting the introductory words of a new para-graph in red, has even descended through the cloisters of Europe to the modern printer.

It is the story of the first writing on paper, with pen and ink, ever practiced which Dr. Moeller has elaborated so carefully for us. The picture-writing with which all are familiar as "Egyptian hieroglyphics" goes back far into the fourth thousand years B. C., and probably into the fifth millennium B. C. Early in the dynastic age, that is in the thirty-fourth and thirty-third centuries B. C., the business and other economic records of the Egyptian people had resulted in such necessarily rapid memoranda, that the writer very much abbreviated the animal forms, implements, symbols and other hieroglyphic signs, as he wrote them on wood, ivory, potsherds and the like with ink. Thus began for the first time in human history the development of a cursive system of writing with pen and ink. Its use continued for over three thousand years, far

nto Roman times. It is indeed from a Christian writer that we have received the name by which we now designate this Egyptian cursive. Clement of Alexandria calls it γράμματα ἱερατικά (*Strom.* V, 4), because in his day it was used solely for the writing of sacred books.

As studied by Moeller, hieratic falls into four periods: I. Archaisch-hieratisch, II. Althieratisch, III. Mittelhieratisch, IV. Neuhieratisch. The last was, from the Twenty-second Dynasty (ended middle of eighth century B. C.) onward, rapidly supplanted for business and other ordinary affairs of life by a still more cursive and abbreviated hand already long existent, which now became the popular hand known to us as Demotic. "Neuhieratisch," however, continued in use for sacred books, and hence its name in the time of Clement of Alexandria. Moeller calls this later period of the hieratic "Spaethieratisch," and will devote his third volume to it, but because of its fixed and crystallized character, he does not include it in the above classification. The two volumes already out include "Archaisch-, Alt- und Mittelhieratisch" (I) and "Neuhieratisch" (II). The fourth volume will be devoted to the paleographic history, detailed discussion, and indices. The first three volumes therefore confine themselves to a carefully arranged series of plates presenting the materials without discussion, beyond the necessary introduction.

After introducing volume one with a brief discussion of the origin and development of hieratic, which includes also all the archaic hieratic material which has survived, Moeller proceeds to treat the scribe's equipment, pen, ink, and papyrus, especially the manufacture and varieties of the last, besides direction of lines, arrangement of pages and the like. An account of the Old and Middle Hieratic documents accessible for his purposes then introduces the seventy-six large plates of material presenting 612 signs and 77 ligatures. The plates are beautifully drawn, and admirably clear and perspicuous. In a column at the left appears the hieroglyphic prototype of each hieratic sign. Moeller has laboriously collected these hieroglyphic prototypes from the earliest documents accessible, and reproduced them with great accuracy. This collection of the earliest known forms of 612 hieroglyphs is of itself a very valuable feature of Moeller's work. Following the first column on the left containing these hieroglyphs, there are eleven columns, one for each document employed, filling the entire plate and containing the various hieratic forms of each hieroglyph in the left-hand column. If the materials have preserved them, there may be as many as eleven forms of each hieratic sign, one from each document, beginning with the Old Hieratic in the Fifth Dynasty (Isesi, twenty-seventh century B. C.) down to the end of the Middle Hieratic in the early Eighteenth Dynasty (sixteenth century B.C.). This first volume therefore furnishes the materials (including Archaic Hieratic) for a period of some 1400 years. If all eleven columns are filled with the successive forms of a given sign, its history may be traced

from century to century for nearly a millennium and a half. Moeller has collected and "facsimiled" on these plates, which he drew with his own hand, over four thousand forms in this first volume alone. Besides this work he has furnished some of the materials himself, especially the important new material from the alabaster quarry of Hatnub, the graffiti of which he copied from the walls of the quarry, thus filling out to some extent an otherwise glaring gap between the Old and Middle Kingdoms (Dynasties VII–X). At the end of the first volume are nine heliotype plates containing specimen pages of more important and typical papyri.

The second volume is introduced by preliminary discussions like those in the first, though of course without repeating the general remarks on hieratic. These remarks also enter upon the distinctions now observable between Upper and Lower Egyptian writing. The scribes of the Delta and vicinity evidently wrote a hand somewhat different from that prevailing in Upper Egypt. Seventy-four plates then present for the period included the continuation of the material found in volume one. This period is from about 1500 to 950 B. C., about five and a half centuries. In this period the more rapid cursive used by scribes taking dictation, or recording secretaries in the law courts, a form of rapid hand already observable at the close of the Old Kingdom (twenty-fifth century B. C.), diverges very widely from what may be called the stately "book-hand" studied by Moeller. As Moeller remarks, this rapid, flying cursive has developed so far by the end of the Twentieth Dynasty (twelfth century B. C.), that its common origin with that of the "book-hand" is scarcely discernable. The rapid cursive of this age may, as Moeller notes, well be called "Old Demotic," and within four centuries after the period covered by this volume, it had become the writing which we now designate Demotic. Moeller's work, however, is confined to the "book-hand," which, as we have noted above, now becomes the hand used for religious books, while the rapid cursive is employed only for business and other secular affairs. A convenient table of all signs treated in the volume is inserted at the end, followed by eight plates containing heliotype facsimiles of specimen pages from important documents, as in the first volume.

These two volumes together present the development of the daily writing of Egypt for some 2000 years, from the thirtieth to the tenth century B. C. In arrangement and execution, in care and accuracy, in the patient industry with which some eight thousand forms of signs have been collected, copied, built up into these monumental volumes and autographed with his own hand, the work is unique, and places us under a lasting obligation to the author, whom we can congratulate most heartily on his achievement. His work will form the standard on the subject and be one of the most indispensable, as it has long been one of the most needed, in the working library of the Egyptologist.

<div style="text-align: right">JAMES HENRY BREASTED</div>

## A COMPOSITE BAU-TEXT

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The following text consists of a series of seven paragraphs, each apparently an entity in itself, but all arranged in logical sequence, which fact has led us to designate the text in question as composite. It will be observed that a large part of the matter is paralleled in Plates 26, 27, and 30, as indicated below.

Pl. 26, 1–21 (two paragraphs) is devoted entirely to a eulogy of the goddess' Word, her creative Logos, which is regarded as the sole cause of vegetation. The power of this Word is further amplified in Pl. 26, 23–24; 27, 1–3 = 30, 1–6, as having not only influence over plant-growth, but as being also the regulator of the water streams in the canals, which were essential to Babylonian irrigation. Anu, the goddess' father, then invests her with authority over production (27, 4–11 = 30, 7–13) and she, as the essential deity of plant life, proceeds to cause such life by means of her mystic *insignium*, the ɢɪš-ṭu. She then takes up her abode in the land (27, 12–19 = 30, 14–20) as the perpetual guardian of vegetation and irrigation. Anu also intrusts to her the land itself with its flocks and herds (27, 20–24 = 30, 21–25).

Finally, there follows a doxology (30, 27–32) laudatory of the goddess and of her temple and city, which seem to be identified with herself. It should be noted that the name BA-Ú 'giver (BA) of vegetation (Ú=ŠAM)' is in perfect harmony with her chief function as indicated in this collection (cf. also Prince, *AJSL*, XXIV, p. 63).

The date of the present text is not certain, but the stress laid herein on the importance of the divine Logos as the sole First Cause tends to raise the question as to whether the idea of a creative Word was not perhaps non-Semitic in origin.

### CT. XV.   TABLETS 23658 AND 88384; PLATES 26, 27, 30

PLATE 26, 1–8.   THE CREATIVE WORD OF THE GODDESS BAU PERVADING
THE LAND

1. KI-BAD-DU-GE I-DIB(LU) NA-ÀM-ÈR(IR)-RA
   Unto the distant lands the word goeth.
2. MA ṬU-MU-MU KI-BAD-DU-GE I-DIB(LU) NA-ÀM-ÈR(IR)-RA
   The utterance of my child; unto the distant lands the word goeth.
3. DIMMER DA-MU-MU KI-BAD-DU-GE
   My goddess Bau unto the distant lands (goeth).
4. NÌ(IM)-MU KI-BAD-DU-GE
   My fearful one unto the distant lands (goeth).
5. GIŠ-ṬU AZAG KI DAMAL NI-TU DA-GÁ(MAL)
   The brilliant scepter hath entered the broad land; it is established there.
6. Ê(BIT) AN-NA AN-ŠÙ(KU) KI-ŠÙ(KU) GIN(DU) I-DIB NA-ÀM-ÈR(IR)-RA
   Unto the house of heaven, to heaven and to earth, it proceedeth; the word goeth.
7. I-DIB Ê(BIT) MU-LU Ì(KA) NA-ÀM-ÈR(IR)-RA I-DIB NA-ÀM-ÈR (IR)-RA
   The word of the temple of utterance goeth forth; the word goeth forth.
8. I-DIB ER MU-LU Ì(KA) NA-ÀM-ÈR(IR)-RA
   The word of the city of utterance goeth forth.

LINES 9–21.   THE CREATIVE EFFECT OF BAU'S WORD

9. I-DIB-BI I-DIB GU NA-SIM(NAM) SAR-SAG-E NA-Ù-TU
   Her word, a word for vegetation she uttereth; luxuriant growth she createth.
10. I-DIB-BI I-DIB ŠE NA-SIM(NAM) AB-SIM(NAM) NA-Ù-TU
    Her word, a word for grain she uttereth; grain she createth.

11. Er ma-bi àg(RAM)-ma-al-e na-sim(NAM) a-a na-ù-tu
    The city of her land, (her) possession, speaketh; (thus) a father she
    createth.

12. Dam til-la dû(TUR) til-la na-sim(NAM)išib(ME) sag-e na-ù-tu
    That wife be taken and offspring got she speaketh; (thus) a priestly
    ruler she createth.

13. I-dib-bi ìd(NARU) max-e na-sim(NAM) a-gu(d) na-ù-tu
    Her word over the great river she uttereth; (thus) the river-flood she
    createth.

14. I-dib-bi ê(BIT)-e-šù(KU) na-sim(NAM) še gu-nu na-ù-tu
    Her word for the house she uttereth; (thus) grain in plenty doth she
    create.

15. I-dib-bi sug-e na-sim(NAM) xa-da essad(ZAG-XA) na-ù-tu
    Her word over the waters (marshes) she uttereth; (thus) among the
    fish many swarms she createth.

16. I-dib-bi mu-gi na-sim(NAM) gi til(BE) (ir?) gi na-ù-tu
    Her word over the yearly production she uttereth; (thus) the pro-
    duction of life cometh(?); production she createth.

17. I-dib-bi li-li-ra na-sim(NAM) bar elteq bar elteq bar na-ù-tu
    Her word for the future she uttereth; (thus) the rite of libation, the
    rite of libation, the rite she causeth to be.

18. I-dib-bi dimmer šam-sun-na na-sim(NAM) mar-(gam?) na-ù-tu
    The deity her word for plant-growth uttereth; (thus) making of
    prostration (worship) she causeth to be.

19. I-dib-bi pú giš-sar na-sim(NAM) te-la na-ù-tu
    Her word for the water-springs of the border-land she uttereth;
    (thus) the advent of plenty she causeth to be.

20. I-dib-bi sar-sar-ra na-sim(NAM) dùg(XI) giš-sar-(? ? ?) na-ù-tu
    Her word for the boundary stone she uttereth; (thus) the welfare of
    the border-land (? ? ?) she causeth to be.

21. I-dib-bi ê(BIT)-gal-e na-sim(NAM) zi-su(d) utu(UD) gál(IK) na-ù-tu
    Her word for the temple she uttereth; long life, eternal days she
    causeth to be.

PLATES 26, 23–24; 27, 1–3          PLATE 30, 1–6

### The Word of the Goddess Bau on the Waters

23. A ù-a ni-al-lá(LAL) láx-da
    The ancient waters held in their
    course.

24. Ìd(NARU)-da ìd(NARU)-da
    ê(BIT) sìg(PA)-gi-da
    In the river, in the river, in the
    house of restraint.

1. A . . . . . . ù-a ù-a
   Waters . . . ancient waters,
   ancient waters.

2. Í(NI)-da . . . í(NI) sìg(PA)-
   gi-da
   In the river, . . in the house of
   restraint.

PLATES 26, 27—*Continued*

1. Me-e    dû(TUR)    ê(BIT)-da
   ê(BIT) sìg(PA)-gi-da
   The utterance of the child in
   the house, in the house of re-
   straint.

2. Dimmer    da-mu    ê(BIT)-da
   ê(BIT) sìg(PA)-gi-da
   The goddess Bau in the house,
   in the house of restraint.

3. Nì(IM)    ê(BIT)-da    ê(BIT)
   sìg(PA)-gi-da
   The revered one in the house,
   in the house of restraint.

PLATE 30—*Continued*

3. Ma-a ṭu-mu . . . í(NI) sìg(PA)-
   gi-da
   The utterance of the child . .
   in the house of restraint.

4. Dimmer da-mu-mu í(NI)-da í(NI)
   sìg(PA)-gi-da
   My goddess Bau in the house,
   in the house of restraint.

5. Nì(IM) í(NI)-da í(NI) sìg(PA)-
   gi-da
   The revered one in the house,
   in the house of restraint.

6. Dimmer sag-ki í(NI)-da í(NI)
   sìg(PA)-gi-da
   The goddess of splendor in the
   house, in the house of restraint.

PLATE 27, 4–11

PLATE 30, 7–13

The Goddess Bau Invested with Authority over Production

4. Zag-mu giš-ṭu ám(A-AN) gab-mu
   giš-šú-úr-man ám(A-AN)
   At my side is the scepter, on
   my breast the twin bars.

5. E-me-da zag gùr-mu giš-ṭu(-a)
   ám(A-AN)
   According to decree, at my side
   is my *insignium*, the scepter is
   there.

6. Giš-ṭu-a ám(A-AN) xa-šú-úr-
   ra-ka
   The gišṭu is there; the fragrant
   cedar-wood is there.

7. Mu gìg(MI)-gi ni-tuk ki-a-ka
   The year of night hath posses-
   sion over the land and sea
   (water).

8. I-de-mu egir-bi zi sal im-ma-ni-
   dug(KA)
   For the beginning of the year
   and for the end thereof, life
   thou didst ordain.

7. Zag-mu giš-ṭun-na gab-mu giš-
   šú-úr-man-na
   At my side is the scepter, on
   my breast the twin bars.

8. E-me-da zag gùr-mu giš-ṭu-a
   šub(RU) ám(A-AN)
   According to decree, at my side
   is my *insignium*, the scepter is
   placed there.

9. Giš-ṭu-a šub(RU) ám(A-AN) xa-
   šú-úr-ra-kam
   The gišṭu is set there; the fra-
   grant cedar-wood is there.

10. I-de-mu egir-bi zid-da sal um-
    ma-ni-dug(KA)
    For the beginning of the year
    and for the end thereof, life
    thou didst ordain.

PLATE 27—*Continued*

9. SAG-KI-MU GARAŠ BAR ÇALAM SAL IM-MA-NI-DUG(KA)
In the splendor of the year, the fruit-offering by the image thou didst ordain.

10. (DA?)-DIŠ ŠAM ŠUB(RU) EGIR GIŠ-ṬUN-NA-KA SAL IM-MA-NI-DUG(KA)
Lofty unique one, the established vegetation in the wake of the GIŠṬU thou didst ordain.

11. XUM-MU-ŠÙ(KU) GABA UDU(UD) GABA-A SAL IM-MA-NI-DUG(KA)
For the germination of the year, the opening of the day breaking forth, thou didst ordain.

PLATE 30—*Continued*

11. SAG-KI-MU GARAŠ BAR ÇALAM È (UD-DU) SAL UM-MA-NI-DUG(KA)
In the splendor of the year, the fruit-offering sent forth (to be) by the image thou didst ordain.

12. (DA?)-DIŠ ŠAM MU ŠUB(RU) EGIR GIŠ-ṬUN-NA-ZU SAL UM-MA-NI-DUG(KA)
Lofty unique one, the established vegetation of the year in the wake of thy GIŠṬU thou didst ordain.

13. XUM-MU-ŠÙ(KU) GABA UDU(UD) GAK-A SAL UM-MA-NI-DUG(KA)
For the germination of the year, the making of the shining day, thou didst ordain.

PLATE 27, 12–19

PLATE 30, 14–20

THE PRESENCE OF THE GODDESS BAU IN THE LAND

12. MA ṬU-MU-MU NI-NE-TUŠ(KU) NAD-DA
The utterance of my child (who) hath taken up her dwelling (and) is established.

13. AMA(AM) Ù LUL-LA NI-NE-TUŠ (KU) NAD-DA
The mighty, the ancient, the strong, she taketh up her dwelling (and) is established.

14. DIMMER DA-MU Ù LUL-LA NI-NE-TUŠ(KU) NAD-DA
Goddess Bau, the ancient, the strong, she taketh up her dwelling (and) is established.

15. NÌ(IM) Ù LUL-LA NI-NE-TUŠ(KU) NAD-DA
The terrible, the ancient, the strong, she taketh up her dwelling (and) is established.

14. ME-E ṬU-MU-BI NE-TUŠ(KU) NE-DA
The utterance of his child (who) taketh up her dwelling (and) is established.

15. AMA(AM) Ú(ŠAM) LU-LU NE-TUŠ(KU) NE-DA
The mighty, the ancient, the strong, she taketh up her dwelling (and) is established.

16. DIMMER DA-MU Ú(ŠAM) LU-LU NE-TUŠ(KU) NE-DA
Goddess Bau, the ancient, the strong, she taketh up her dwelling (and) is established.

PLATE 27—*Continued*

PLATE 30—*Continued*

16. Šam-šam kešda i-ni-in-nà šam-šam kešda-e ám(A-AN) si
Vegetation she harvesteth; she establisheth herself; the vegetation-harvest is there; it is full.

17. Šam-šam kešda i-ni-in-nà šam-šam kešda-e ám(A-AN) si
Vegetation she harvesteth; she establisheth herself; the vegetation-harvest is there; it is full.

17. Me-a ṭu-mu-bi šam-šam kešda-a ni-nà šú-mu-kal ám(A-AN) si
The word of his child vegetation harvesteth; she establisheth herself. The strength of the year is there; it is full.

18. Kala(KAL) dimmer da-mu-mu šú-mu-a ni-nà šú-mu-kal ám(A-AN) si
The mighty one, my goddess Bau, strength of the year, she establisheth herself. The strength of the year is there; it is full.

18. Geš(IZ) a-tu šam-sun i-ni-nà pi-pi mu-ši-ib-za(-al)
She who listeneth to the abundance of plant-growth; she establisheth herself; she is the ear which maketh superabundant.

19. Geš(IZ) a-tu šam-sun-a i-in-nà pi-pi mu-un-ši-ib-zal(NI)
She who listeneth to the abundance of plant-growth; she establisheth herself; she is the ear which maketh superabundant.

19. Geš(IZ) ud elteq i-ni-nà ù-a mu-un-ši-íb-zal(NI)
She who hearkeneth to the day of libation; she establisheth herself. Ancient waters she maketh superabundant.

20. Geš(IZ) ud elteq-a i-in-nà ù-a mu-un-ši-ib-zal(NI)
She hearkeneth to the day of libation; she establisheth herself. Ancient waters she maketh superabundant.

PLATE 27, 20–24

PLATE 30, 21–25

Anu Granting the Goddess Authority over Plant-Growth, Flocks, and Herds

20. Ṭu-mu-bi-ra an šam-sun-na šú-mu-un-na-ni-in-bar
Unto his child, Anu plant-growth hath intrusted.

21. Ṭú-mu-bi-ir an šam-sun-na šú-mu-un-na-ni-ib-si(?)
Unto his child, Anu plant-growth hath given.

PLATE 27—*Continued*

21. Dimmer šam-sun ki šam-sun-na
šú-mu-un-na-ni-in-bar
To the deity of plant-growth, a
land of plant-growth he hath
intrusted.

22. Šam-sun ki en-nu-un gá(MAL)
mu-un-da-ab-dù(KAK)
For the plant-growth of the
land a watch he decreeth.

23. Mu-lu-dim ki utul(LID-LU)
ud(?) pú en-nu-un mu-un-da-ab-
dù(KAK)
Like a man of the land over
-the herd . . . at the well a watch
he decreeth.

24. Láx-ba-dim (ki)-e çi lu-a-na en-
nu-un mu-un-da-ab-dù(KAK)
Like a shepherd (of the land)
for the good of his flocks a
watch he decreeth.

PLATE 30—*Continued*

22. Dimmer šam-sun ki šam-sun-na
šú-mu-un-na-ni-ib-si(?)
To the deity of plant-growth, a
land of plant-growth he hath
given.

23. Šam-sun ki en-nu-un mu-un-da-
ab-dug(KA)
For the plant-growth of the
land a watch he decreeth.

24. (Mu-lu)-dim ki lid-a-na ne-mu-
un-da-ab-dug(KA)
Like a man of the land for his
herd (to protect them) he
issueth decree.

25. (Láx)-ba-dim ki-e çi lu-a-na ne-
mu-un-da-ab-dug(KA)
Like a shepherd of the land
for the good of his flock he
decreeth.

## Doxology

27, 25. A ù-a i-dib(LU) a-ri-da
The waters, the ancient waters,
the word is for the guardian-
ship of the waters.

27, 26. Max ám(A-AN) max ám(A-
AN) ù-mu-un max ám(A-AN)
She is lofty; she is lofty; the
lady is lofty.

30, 26. Max ám(A-AN) max ám(A-
AN) ù-mu-un max ám(A-AN)
She is lofty; she is lofty; the
lady is lofty.

30, 27. Ù-mu-un mu-lu max ám(A-AN) ù-mu-un max ám(A-AN)
The lady who is lofty; the lady is lofty.

30, 28. Dimmer da-mu mu-lu max ám(A-AN) ù-mu-un max ám(A-AN)
The goddess Bau who is lofty; the lady is lofty.

30, 29. Nì(IM) mu-lu max ám(A-AN) ù-mu-um max ám(A-AN)
The terrible one who is lofty; the lady is lofty.

30, 30. Dimmer sag-ki mu-lu max ám(A-AN) ù-mu-un max ám(A-AN)
The goddess of splendor who is lofty; the lady is lofty.

30, 31. Ê(BIT)-a-ni Ê(BIT) max ám(A-AN) ù-mu-un max ám(A-AN)
Her temple, the temple is lofty; the lady is lofty.

30, 32. Er-a-ni er max ám(A-AN) ù-mu-un max ám(A-AN)
Her city, the city is lofty; the lady is lofty.

## COMMENTARY

### PLATE 26, 1–8

1. KI-BAD-DU-GE, with postpositional -GE(KIT) = a n a 'unto,' IV. 27, 31*b*, Br. 5936; KI = 'land'+BAD(BE) = n i s û 'remove,' 1525 (*MSL*,* 49); note KI-BAD-DU-GE, IV. 30, 25–6*b*, = a n a n i s â t i 'unto distant lands.' The usual expression is KI-BAD-DU-šù(KU).

I-DIB = q u b û 'utterance,' IV. 10, rev. 1. It is probable that I-DIB is a variant of î-NIM = a m â t u 'word.'

ÈR(IR)-RA = a l â k u 'go'; *MSL*, 104, ÈR(IR) being used with its secondary meaning. The original meaning was 'bind.'

2. MA, cognate with MU 'name' and ME 'speak,' *MSL*, 228 B.

3. DIMMER DA-MU = Bau; V. 31, 58*a*; Br. 6662. NA-ÀM-ÈR-RA must be understood here.

4. Nì = IM; lit. 'reverence' = p u l u x t u, 8366 = Bau here. Supply again NA-ÀM-ÈR-RA.

5. GIš-ṬU = q u d u, 11909, and its synonym p â š u, 11911, 'axe,' implying here some divine *insignium* such as a scepter or mace, indicative of the goddess' sway.

NI-TU 'hath entered'; NI- is the harmonic equivalent of NE- 'he did it and it is done.' It denotes completed action (Prince, *AJSL*, XXIV, pp. 361–62). Hence here 'hath (already) entered'; TU = e r ê b u = 'enter,' 1072.

DA-GÁ(MAL) 'it is established there (= DA).' The infix DA, here unusually a preformative, has durative and locative force (*AJSL*, XXIV, p. 357). GÁ(MAL) = b a š û 'to be,' implying completion, 5430; š a k â n u 'accomplish,' 5421.

6. Ê(BIT)-AN-NA AN-šù(KU). We regard the postpositive šù(KU) as referring also to Ê-AN-NA, of which the subsequent AN is the explanation.

GIN(DU) = a l â k u 'go,' 4871. Here the unqualified stem is used to denote duration = "going"; i. e., 'the word goeth.'

7. MU-LU seems to be the equivalent of the relative š a . ì(KA) probably = a m â t u 'word, speech,' *MSL*, 182. Ê MU-LU ì = ER MU-LU ì in the following line.

8. ER MU-LU ì(KA) 'the city of speech.' This expression, and 'temple of utterance' in line 7, seem to denote the center of the goddess' activity as a creator, probably her own temple URU-AZAG-GA 'brilliant city,' a part of Lagash; hence the paraphrase here 'city of speech.' It is mentioned again in line 11: ER MA-BI 'the city of her land.' These expressions are evidently synonymous with the goddess herself.

### PLATE 26, 9–21

9. I-DIB-BI 'her word,' referring to the nearer object (thus the force of -BI); i. e., 'Bau's word.' See Prince, *AJSL*, XXIV, p. 355.

* *MSL* = J. D. Prince, *Materials for a Sumerian Lexicon*, Leipzig, 1908.

I-DIB GU; evidently the word or command which produces vegetation, owing to the expression I-DIB ŠẾ 'word producing grain,' in line 10. GU = gu, IV. 27, 13, usually read qû, Halévy, *Récherches critiques*, p. 232, 'plante.' Note Muss-Arnolt, p. 208, *s. v.* gu, 2.

NA-SIM(NAM) 'she announceth, uttereth.' NAM = šaxâlu 'call, announce,' *MSL*, 292.

SAR-SAG-E, with defining -E, seems to indicate luxuriant growth (note SAR-SAG = šurrû 'grow luxuriantly,' 4342), as shown by the clear parallel in l. 10: AB-SIM 'corn,' *q. v.*

NA-Ù-TU; ù-TU = 'joining'(ù) + 'beginning'(TU); the entire combination = alâdu 'beget'; banû 'create,' 9470; hence NA-Ù-TU 'she createth.'

10. AB-SIM(NAM) = abšênu 'ear of corn,' V. 18, 29.

11. ÀG(RAM)-MA-AL-E, with defining -E = bušû 'possession,' V. 11, 48a. The expression ER MA-BI 'city of her land' is synonymous with Bau's temple, URU-AZAG-GA, and specifies the creative power of the goddess (see on lines 7 and 8).

12. TIL-LA with DAM 'wife' and DÙ(TUR) 'child' can only mean 'get.' TIL = laqâtu 'seize, take, get,' 1516. Note that TIL connotes also the idea 'life' = balâtu, 1494.

On IŠIB(ME), see *MSL*, 194; with SAG = ašaridu 'leader,' 3509; IŠIB (ME) can only mean 'priestly leader.'

13. ÌD(NARU) = nâru 'river,' 11647; the signs mean 'water-course,' *MSL*, 185. Here the word is spoken for the creation of water.

A-GU(D) is clearly to be read A-GU, another writing for A-GÊ(MI)-A = agû 'flood,' 11593. A-GÊ(MI)-A means 'black water.' Note that the writing A-GU(D) means literally 'bull-water,' probably purposely used to allude to the force of the water, 'bull' being a symbol of power; but A-GU(D) is in all probability a mere play on A-GÊ(MI)-A.

14. SE GU-NU must mean 'grain in plenty.'

15. SUG, with defining -E = çuçû 'marsh,' 10309, and çuzu 'marsh,' 10310. The sign SUG is an enclosure surrounding the water-sign A. Here 'marsh' is clearly to be understood as meaning bodies of water in general.

ZAG-XA with value ES(Š)-SA-AD, II. 27, 49c, seems to mean 'school' or 'swarm of fish.' Note that ZAG = isxu 'school of fish,' 6478. XA = nûnu 'fish,' *MSL*, 172. In I. 65, 29b, ZAG appears in the combination isix nûnim 'school of fish.' The reference in Br. 6526: ZAG-XA = pa(-la?)-xu 'fear' is incorrect, the PA being an error for IZ, and the equivalent is to be read is-xu, which is also indicated by IB(DAR) in the preceding line. In the value ES(Š)-SA-AD, we regard ES(Š) as being equivalent to EŠ = AB = bîtu 'house' + SAD, probably a dialectic equivalent for SAG = ZAG, 6461. ES(Š)-SA-AD, therefore, means 'many schools of fish,' *lit.* 'a collection (house) of schools of fish.'

16. Gɪ = biblu (from abâlu) 'produce,' 2387. Tɪʟ(BE) must mean balâṭu 'life' here.

17. Lɪ-ʟɪ = arkâtu 'future,' IV. 11, 17a. This meaning seems to harmonize with the context in this passage.

Bar = pirištu 'decree, order,' 1788. The sense seems to be that Bau's power over the future (= ʟɪ-ʟɪ) is to be invoked by this divinely ordered rite of libation, by which the goddess was to be propitiated.

Elteq = rimku 'libation,' *MSL*, 99; cf. 27, 18 = 30, 19.

18. Dimmer refers to Bau. Šam-sun(SI)-na clearly means 'plant-growth.' On SI, see *MSL*, 286.

Mar here stands in connection with a partially erased sign, perhaps gam, which, if correct, must have meant qiddatu 'prostration,' 7318; gam also = qadâdu 'prostrate, bow down,' 7317, the sense being again the divine institution of a rite of worship, by means of which plant-growth was to be obtained from the goddess.

19. Pú = bûrtu 'well,' 10268; also 27, 23 = 30, 24; see below.

Giš-sar apparently means 'border-land' = pirsu 'division, section,' Br. 4329, a word which is synonymous with nabalkattum 'Grenzland' (thus Jensen; see Muss-Arnolt, p. 834 B).

Te here must mean ṭêxû 'approach,' 7709 + ʟa = lalû 'fulness, plenty,' 984; te-la then means 'the advent of plenty.'

20. Sar-sar-ra = musarû 'written document,' 4362, and here probably = 'boundary stone,' owing to l. 19. Thus in Zimmern, *Šurpû*, viii. 34: kudurru u musarê, where kudurru 'boundary' is synonymous with musarû.

21. Zɪ-su(ᴅ) 'long life'; su(ᴅ) = arâku 'be long,' 7597, used in connection also with life, IV. 12, 5.

Utu(UD) gáʟ(IK) seems to mean ûm çâti 'eternal days.' Note that gáʟ(IK) = çîtu, 2252. That it is probably used here in the sense indicated appears evident from the context. The sense is that the goddess will give long life and eternal days to her temple.

Line 22 is blank in the text.

### The Parallel Texts, Pl. 26, 23–24; 27, 1–11 and 30, 1–13

26, 23 and 30, 1: ú = labîru 'ancient' + a 'water.'

Nɪ-aʟ-ʟá(LAL): pref. nɪ- 'it has been' + aʟ = naçâru 'guard, keep,' 5748 + ʟaʟ = kamû 'bind, restrain,' 10094; kasû 'bind,' 10095; rakâsu 'bind,' 10102.

The sense is that the waters are restricted by the goddess to their natural bed. Thus ʟáx-ᴅa in their course; ʟáx = arâdu 'go down,' 4936; alâku 'go,' 4935. Cf. the influence of Nannar on the rivers (Vanderburgh, *Sum. Hymns*, 44).

26, 24 and 30, 2. For ɪᴅ(NARU)-ᴅa in 26, 24, the equivalent in 30, 2 is clearly NI-ᴅa, which must be read í-ᴅa = ɪᴅ-ᴅa, a phonetic correspondence. NI has the value í, 5307.

Ê(BIT) sìg(PA)-gi-da 'in the house or enclosure of restraint'; i.e., the bed of the water-course.  Sìg(PA)-gi = k a m û 'bind,' 5606.  In 30, 2, NI sìg(PA)-gi-da is again to be read í sìg(PA)-gi-da = 26, 23:  Ê(BIT) sìg(PA)-gi-da.  There is probably a paronomasia in 30, 2 on ɪ = I = n â k u 'draw water,' 3981, í here being played upon as a by-form of ᴀ 'water.'

27, 1 and 30, 3:  ᴍᴇ-ᴇ ᴅᴜᴍᴜ(TUR) = 30, 3:  ᴍᴀ-ᴀ ṭᴜ-ᴍᴜ, on which expression see on 26, 2 above.

In the last phrase of 27, 1, we must regard the final element as ᴅᴀ, owing to the parallel text, although in 26, 1 the character resembles ᴇʟ.

27, 2 and 30, 4.  These lines differ only in the presence of the pronominal affix -ᴍᴜ after ᴅɪᴍᴍᴇʀ ᴅᴀ-ᴍᴜ in 30, 4.

27, 3 and 30, 5.  On ɴì(IM), see above on 26, 4.

30, 6 with no equivalent in 27.  We render sᴀɢ-ᴋɪ 'splendor' = z î m u, 3642; also x â š u 'fear, reverence,' 3643; p â n u 'face, chief,' 3644, all which equivalents are merely extensions of the original meaning of sᴀɢ ᴋɪ 'chief (head) of the earth.'  See below on 27, 9 and 30, 11.

27, 4 and 30, 7:  ᴢᴀɢ means a x i 'side,' 6465, and in this sense it can also mean 'alongside of, with, near.'  Note ᴢᴀɢ-ᴍᴜ = i t t i i̯a 'with me' (sic!) in 6481.  The idea here is that the insignium (ɢɪšṬᴜ) is near or by the deity as the token of her power.

Gɪš-šú-úʀ can only indicate a sort of wooden covering, probably, owing to the context, a 'breast-plate.'  Note 7162:  šú-úʀ = m ê d i l u 'bolt,' but šᴜ-ûʀ-ûʀ-ʀᴜ = t a k t a m t u 'covering,' 7173, where, although the ûʀ is Br. 5491, a different sign from úʀ, the value and sense must be identical.

Mᴀɴ(NIŠ) = š i n â 'two,' 9962, and m â š û 'twin,' 9959.

In 30, 7, -ɴᴀ corresponds to 27, 4:  ᴀ́ᴍ(A-AN), ɴᴀ being a demonstrative element.

27, 5 and 30, 8:  ᴇ-ᴍᴇ = q û l u 'command.'  ɢᴜ̀ʀ probably = 10189:  ɢɪš-ɢᴜ̀ʀ = k u d d u, synonym of ɢɪš-ṭᴜ 'scepter, insignium'; see on 26, 5.  In 30, 8, šᴜʙ(RU) = n a d û 'set, place,' 1434, which simply fixes the ᴀ́ᴍ(A-AN).

27, 6 and 30, 9.  In 30, 9 again, šᴜʙ(RU) precedes ᴀ́ᴍ(A-AN).  xᴀ-šᴜʙ-ʀᴀ must = x a š û r u 'sweet-smelling cedar,' 11836, although usually with ɢɪš.  Here, xᴀšᴜʀʀᴀ seems to be synonymous with ɢɪš-šú-úʀ and denotes the character of the breast-plate of 27, 4, which was probably a symbol of plenty.

Line 30, 9 has the asseverative ᴋᴀᴍ instead of ᴀ́ᴍ(A-AN), 27, 6.

27, 7, has no equivalent in 30.  ᴍᴜ here must = ʼša t t u 'year,' 1234.

Gɪɢ(MI) = m û š u 'night,' 8920.  ᴛᴜᴋ = i š û 'have,' passim.  ᴋɪ-ᴀ-ᴋᴀ; ᴋɪ 'land' + ᴀ 'water'; + -ᴋᴀ, probably = i n a here, 551, passim.

27, 8 and 30, 10:  ɪ-ᴅᴇ, ES. for EK. ɪɢɪ(ŠI) = m a x r u 'front,' 4005.

Eɢɪʀ = a r k â t u 'behind,' 5001.  Note full form ᴢɪᴅ-ᴅᴀ in 30, 10 for ᴢɪ of 27, 8 = n a p i š t u 'life,' 2322.  sᴀʟ ᴅᴜɢ(KA)-ɢᴀ = k u n n û 'establish,' 10921.

27, 9 and 30, 11: SAG-KI; see above on 30, 6. SAG-KI-MU 'the splendor of the year' must mean the time of the full harvest.

GARAŠ = tibnu 'straw,' 5478; GA-RA-AŠ = karâšu 'garlic,' 6133, probably a general ideogram for the vegetation or fruit offering.

BAR 'by the side of; by,' *MSL*, 53.

In 30, 11, we have the combination UD-DU = è after çALAM, which seems to refer to GARAŠ; i.e., the fruit-offering which is brought out; è(UD-DU) = açû 'go out,' *passim*.

27, 10 and 30, 12. (DA?)-DIŠ, if correct = 'the lofty one'; DA = šaqû 'lofty,' 6654 + 'the only one' = DIŠ (*MSL*, 82) = 'one, single.'

ŠAM-ŠUB(RU); šAM 'vegetation' + šUB(RU) = nadû 'set, place,' 1434; parâsu, 1438; i.e., the vegetation which has been duly decreed. ŠAM-MU-ŠUB(RU), 30, 12 = 'the vegetation of the year which has been duly decreed.'

EGIR GIŠ-ṬUN-NA 'behind the GIŠṬU'; i.e., 'in the wake of it; as a result of it.'

27, 11 and 30, 13: XUM = unnubu 'bear plentiful fruit,' 11186; uššubu 'spring up,' 11187.

Note in 30, 13, GAK = banû 'create,' 5248, for GAB = paṭâru, *passim*, 27, 11, phonetically similar and merely a variant in the general sense, which is that the goddess commands and regulates the day, bright with the sun's rays, for the fructification of the year.

### PLATE 27, 12–19 = 30, 14–20

27, 12 and 30, 14: TUŠ(KU), not only = ašâbu 'dwell,' 10523, but also kânu 'establish' (once only), 10528, and nadû 'set, place,' 10542. It frequently = nâxu 'rest,' 10540. We render it, therefore, 'takes up her dwelling; settles herself,' in connection with the parallel NAD-DA, clearly = na'âlu 'lie down, rest, be established,' 8991.

In 30, 14 ff. this NAD-DA is parallelled by NE-DA, which must have the same meaning as NAD in 27. This NE-DA is evidently a paronomasia on the more correct NAD-DA, but NE-DA could mean 'it is mighty'; DA = aštu, a synonym of edlu, ezzu. The supposition is warranted, however, that NE-DA is a phonetic attempt by a copyist, who did not know Sumerian very well, to reproduce NAD-DA. The same idea is suggested by the following two lines, especially 30, 15–16: ú LU-LU for 27, 13–14: ù LUL-LA.

27, 13 = 30, 15: AMA(AM) = rîmu 'bull,' 4541, a symbol of strength; perhaps here, however, bêlu 'lord,' as in 4543. ù = labîru 'ancient,' for which 30, 15 has ú(ŠAM), clearly a phonetic variant.

LUL-LA must = 'powerful one' here; cf. LUL-AŠ(RUM) II. 47, 54c = danniš, and II. 47, 54c = ma'diš. In 30, 15, LU-LU can only be a phonetic variant of 27, 13: LUL-LA.

The parallel passages now separate partially until 27, 18 = 30, 19.

27, 16: ᴋᴇšᴅᴀ(SAR)=rakâsu 'bind,' 4331; šᴀᴍ-šᴀᴍ ᴋᴇšᴅᴀ then = 'vegetation she harvests, binds'; like ears of corn.  This may be an epithet here, indicating the goddess as the harvester of grain.

27, 17: identical with 27, 16, perhaps as a sort of refrain.

30, 16: ʟᴜ-ʟᴜ again for ʟᴜʟ-ʟᴀ.

30, 17: šú-ᴍᴜ ᴋᴀʟ seems to mean 'the mighty power of the year.' šú =emûqu 'power,' 7069, and ᴋᴀʟ = dannu 'powerful'; cf. šú-ᴍᴜ-ᴀ, 30, 18. Note that ŠÚ-ᴋᴀʟ with value šᴜ-ᴜɢ-ʙᴀʀ, 7188,= abâru, synonym of emûqu 'power,' and also of kirimmu 'womb,' 7190 (see MSL, 321).

30, 18: šú-ᴍᴜ-ᴀ 'power of the year'; an epithet of Bau.

27, 18 = 30, 19: ɢᴇš here (the sign is evident in 27, 18 in spite of the varied writing) must be ɢᴇš³ of MSL, 134–135 = 'ear, hear' = šamû, 5705. This is probable from its being paralleled with ᴘɪ-ᴘɪ = uznu 'ear,' 7969; cf. MSL, 132, s. v. ɢᴇʟᴛᴀɴ.

ᴀ-ᴛᴜ: literally 'seed' (ᴀ)+'enter' (ᴛᴜ) must = U ᴀ-ᴛᴜ-ᴛᴜ = baltu 'abundance,' 11412.

Šᴀᴍ-sᴜɴ, doubtful in 27, 18, but clear in 30, 19: šᴀᴍ-sᴜɴ-ɴᴀ.

Note 27, 18: ɪ-ɴɪ-ɴà = 30, 19: ɪ-ɪɴ-ɴà.

27, 18 has the phonetic ᴢᴀ (supply ᴀʟ) for 30, 19: ᴢᴀʟ(NI).  This must = barû 'be abundant'; here, probably causative.

The sense is that the goddess is especially the one who listens to, hence knows thoroughly, and watches the process of plant-growth.  She is the ever watchful one, the ear of vegetation.  See below on 27, 22 = 30, 23.

27, 19 = 30, 20: ᴇʟᴛᴇǫ = rimku 'libation'; see above on 26, 17.

### Plate  27, 20–24 = 30, 21–25

27, 20 = 30, 21: šú-ᴍᴜ-ᴜɴ-ɴᴀ-ɴɪ-ɪɴ-ʙᴀʀ 'he hath caused (šú) to apportion' (ʙᴀʀ = parâsu, 1786): ɴɪɴ 'it.'  This = 30, 21: šú-ᴍᴜ-ᴜɴ-ɴᴀ-ɴɪ-ɪʙ-sɪ(?); probably sɪ = paqâdu 'apportion,' 4419, or nadânu 'give.'

27, 22 = 30, 23: ᴇɴ-ɴᴜ-ᴜɴ = maçartu 'watch,' 2837.  Note that in 27, 22, ᴇɴ-ɴᴜ-ᴜɴ is followed by ɢá(MAL) = šakânu, 5421; here, literally: 'the making (setting) of a watch.'  This setting of a watch seems to explain 27, 18 = 30, 19, where Bau is described as the 'one who listens for' = 'is attentive to' = 'watches.'

Note that 27, 22 has ᴅù(KAK) = ᴅᴜɢ(KA), 30, 23.  This is so also in the following lines.

27, 23 = 30, 24: ᴍᴜ-ʟᴜ-ᴅɪᴍ ᴋɪ 'like a man of the land'; i. e., like a human herdsman.

Uᴛᴜʟ(LID-LU) = utullu 'herd,' 8879 (MSL, 358–359).  ᴜᴅ(?) is doubtful.

Pú clearly = bûrtu 'well'; see on 26, 19.  In 30, 24, instead of ᴜᴛᴜʟ (LID-LU), we have ʟɪᴅ-ᴀ-ɴᴀ, clearly a synonym of ᴜᴛᴜʟ(LID-LU); cf.

8871: LID = mîru 'young of an animal' and with GUD(alpu): LID-GUD = utullu, 8874.

27, 24 = 30, 25: LÁX-BA = rê'û 'shepherd,' 4944.   In 27, 24, KI 'land' is omitted and -E follows -DIM, which is unexplainable.   Probably KI should be inserted in 27, 24.

Çı = martu and daddaru 'gall, bitterness,' 4196–4197, but çı is also dialectic for XI = DU, V. 11, 17a = 'good,' ṭâbu, 8239.   This idea harmonizes perfectly with the context.

Lu must mean kirru 'sheep,' 10685.

At this point, the direct parallelism between 27 and 30 ceases, except in 27, 26 = 30, 26.

27, 25: A-RI-DA must mean 'for the protection of the waters.'   Note RI = xatânu 'protect,' 2560, and A-RI = xatânu, 11449.

27, 26 = 30, 26: evidently a summary in 27 of the glorification of the goddess Bau in 30, 26 ff., which lines require no commentary.

The text of 30, 33–43 is so mutilated that we shall not attempt at present any exposition of these lines.

# MONTHS AND DAYS IN BABYLONIAN-ASSYRIAN ASTROLOGY

By Morris Jastrow, Jr.

The University of Pennsylvania

The practical efficiency of any system of divination is dependent upon securing as large a number as possible of different signs and, correspondingly, an extensive series of varying interpretations. In the case of Babylonian-Assyrian astrology this object was in large measure accomplished by parceling out the observed signs among the four countries, Akkad, Subartu or Guti, Elam, and Amurru, representing South, North, East, and West respectively. So, e.g., the right side of the moon was assigned to Akkad, the left side to Elam, the upper part to Amurru, the lower part to Subartu.[1]   The four countries Akkad, Elam, Amurru, and Subartu furnish the basis for the title šar kibrat arba'im assumed by Sargon and Naram-Sin as Ungnad recognized[2] and as pointed out also by me.[3]   The occasional substitution of Guti for Subartu is a proof of the composite character of the Enuma Anu-Enlil series, the tablets of which date from various periods.[4]

Occasionally only three countries are introduced.   So in the case of the division of the ecliptic into the way of Anu, of Enlil, and of Ea, the central division was assigned to Akkad—a reflection of Enlil's headship of the older pantheon—Anu to Elam and Ea to Amurru.[5]   Similarly, there being only three watches for the night, only three countries could be taken into consideration, the first watch being assigned to Akkad (Thompson, No. 270, rev. 11), the third to Elam (Thompson, No. 181, obv. 6; 242, rev. 2; 271, obv. 10; 274 F, obv. 7) and the middle watch, therefore, to Amurru

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[1] II R. 49 No. 1, obv. 23-26 = CT, xxvi, 40, Col. iv, 23-26 restored by Virolleaud, Babyloniaca, III, 135, according to Thompson, Reports, No. 268.  See also Pinches, PSBA, V, 74, and Hagen and Delitzsch, BA, II, 245 and 272.

[2] Urkunden aus Dilbat, 18, n. 2.

[3] See the writer's article "The Hittites in Babylonia," RS, 1909, 92, n. 32.  I reached the conclusion independently of Ungnad.  See also Hilprecht, BE, Series D, Vol. V, Fasc. 1, p. 24, n. 1.

[4] See Jastrow, II, 505, 507, etc., and a forthcoming paper of the writer on "The Anu-Enlil Series" in JAOS.

[5] Virolleaud, L'astrologie chaldéenne, "Ishtar," No. IV.  See Jastrow, II, 625.

or at some periods to Guti.[6]   When as in the case of the horns of the moon only two sides were singled out, the number was correspondingly reduced to two, the right side being Amurru, and the left side assigned to Elam.[7]

Whenever possible, however, all four countries were brought in, and, according as a sign was associated with the one country or the other, the interpretation was made to bear upon the country either directly or by implication.   In accord with this principle the twelve months of the ordinary year were parceled out in this way.   This is indicated by explanatory remarks added to the signs both in the omen collections and in the quotations from these collections in the astrological reports and letters.   Thus we find the second month Airu assigned to Elam (Thompson, No. 274 F, obv. 6), the third month Sivan to Amurru (No. 67, obv. 3; 156, rev. 1; 270, rev. 11; 271, obv. 10; Harper, *Assyrian Letters*, No. 38, rev. 4); the fourth month Du'uzu to Subartu (Thompson, No. 36, rev. 2), the fifth month to Akkad (Thompson, No. 17, rev. 4), the tenth month Ṭebet to Elam (No. 76, obv. 4), the eleventh month Shebat to Amurru (No. 160 B, rev. 1).

The astrological "commentary" text II R. 49, No. 1, furnishes the assignment of the various months to the different countries, and now that an improved edition of this important text is at our disposal,[8] the list can be completed with the aid of the indications in the reports and letters.   The preserved portions of this list[9] furnish the following equations:

> Airu = Elam
> Kislev = Akkad
> Ṭebet = Elam
> Tašrit and Shebat = Amurru
> Araḫšamna and Adar = Subartu

The agreement in the case of three of these months — Elam, Ṭebet, and Shebat — with the notes in the reports and letters shows conclusively that the list furnishes the basis for the references in the reports.   We may, therefore, supplement the list as follows

[6] See Jastrow, II, 551.

[7] Jastrow, II, 502, n. 4; and the writer's article "Babylonian-Orientation" (*ZA*, XXIII, 199 f.).

[8] K 25) with duplicates KK 4195 and 8067 published by King, *CT*, XXVI, Pl. 40–44.

[9] *CT*, XXVI, 40, Col. VI, 8–15, *a–b*.

for the third, fourth, and fifth months = Amurru, Subartu, and Akkad respectively. Combining the two we obtain:

| | |
|---|---|
| (second month) | Airu = Elam |
| (third month) | Sivan = Amurru |
| (fourth month) | Du'uzu = Subartu |
| (fifth month) | Ab = Akkad |
| (seventh month) | Tashrit = Amurru |
| (eighth month) | Araḫšamna = Subartu |
| (ninth month) | Kislev = Akkad |
| (tenth month) | Ṭebet = Elam |
| (eleventh month) | Shebat = Amurru |
| (twelfth month) | Adar = Subartu |

The principle of apportionment being evidently the division of the twelve months into three groups of four months each, and the order in each group being Akkad, Elam, Amurru, and Subartu, there is no difficulty in supplying, for the missing first month, Nisan = Akkad, and for the sixth month, Ulul = Elam. The latter equation is moreover borne out by Thompson, No. 30, rev. 6, where an eclipse of the sixth month is applied to Elam.

Lines 12–15 of Col. VI of K 250 (*CT*, XXVI, 40) are therefore to be filled out as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| First, fifth, ninth months | = Akkad |
| Second, sixth, tenth months | = Elam |
| Third, seventh, eleventh months | = Amurru |
| Fourth, eighth, twelfth months | = Subartu |

The question now arises whether the same apportionment holds good for the days of the month.

The fourteenth day is consistently applied to Elam (Thompson, No. 274 F; 271, obv. 10; Harper, *Assyrian Letters*, No. 38, rev. 3—based on Virolleaud, Sin, No. III, 109) while from No. 156, rev. 2, and 160 B, rev. 2, we learn that the fifteenth day = Amurru.

This would correspond to the apportionment of the days in groups of four as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1, 5, 9, 13, 17, 21, 25, 29 | = Akkad |
| 2, 6, 10, 14, 18, 22, 26, 30 | = Elam |
| 3, 7, 11, 15, 19, 23, 27 | = Amurru |
| 4, 8, 12, 16, 20, 24, 28 | = Subartu |

In agreement with this Virolleaud, Sin, No. III, 108–13, and IV, 2–10, furnishes the equations:

| First day | = Akkad (favorable) |
|---|---|
| Thirteenth day | = Akkad (unfavorable) |
| Sixteenth day | = Subartu (favorable)[10] |
| Seventeenth day | = Akkad (favorable) |
| Nineteenth day | = Amurru (favorable) |
| Twenty-ninth day | = Akkad (favorable) |

It must not, of course, be supposed that *everything* that happens on any of the days in question applies to the corresponding country. The fourteenth day, e.g., being the normal and therefore lucky day for the opposition between moon and sun, furnishes, according to varying conditions under which the full moon appears, a large number of favorable interpretations[11] applying to Babylonia and therefore by extension to Assyria. The Babylonian and Assyrian barû-priests were careful enough to limit the apportionment of the months to decidedly unfavorable phenomena, particularly to eclipses or darkening of the moon's (or sun's) surface[12] and to the disappearance of the moon at the end of the month; and the same holds good for the days. It is hardly a matter of accident that references to the assignment to months are so much more frequent in the reports and collections than are those to days, and we may conclude from this that the apportionment of days to countries was less frequently resorted to. It is obvious, too, that such a theoretical system could not be consistently applied without soon bringing the system into disrepute.

Lastly, it is to be noted as a further evidence of the composite character of the "Anu-Enlil" series that we have one tablet reflecting apparently earlier conditions[13] than those marked by the division of the world into the four countries Akkad, Elam, Amurru, Subartu, in which we find a somewhat different assignment. The tablet, which is of unusual historical interest because of its important references to political occurrences, interprets the eclipse of the moon in the various months of the year as follows:

[10] But twentieth day = Akkad (favorable) and Amurru (unfavorable); twenty-eighth day = Akkad (favorable); eighteenth day = Amurru (favorable) and Akkad (unfavorable).

[11] See, e.g., Thompson, *Reports*, Nos. 124–55.

[12] A t a l û is applied indiscriminately in the astrological texts to a genuine eclipse of moon or sun or to any obscuration of the moon's or sun's surface through atmospheric causes. See Jastrow, II, 513 f.

[13] Virolleaud, Sin, No. XXXIII. See Jastrow, II, 553 f. and 559, n. 4.

(second month)    Airu = Elam
(third month)     Sivan = Tilmun
(fourth month)    Du'uzu = Guti
(fifth month)     Ab = Akkad (but also Tupliaš and Hittites)[14]
(sixth month)     Ulul = Akkad
(seventh month)   Tašrit = Elam
(tenth month)     Ṭebet = Anšan
(eleventh month)  Shebat = Amurru
(twelfth month)   Adar = šar kiššati

The second, fifth, and eleventh months agree with the later apportionment, and, since Anšan is identical with Elam, the equation for the tenth month also fits in with the later scheme which substitutes the more common designation for the lands to the East. Tilmun, playing no part in subsequent periods, is replaced by Amurru, and if we may regard šar kiššati as a substitution made by the Assyrian copyist of this old tablet for Subartu,[15] which in the group of four takes the place of Assyria as the earlier designation of the district or districts to the north, we would also bring the equation for the twelfth month into the scheme, but the assignment of the seventh month to Elam instead of to Amurru marks a departure which would seem to show that at the time of the composition of this tablet, the conventional scheme had not yet been fully marked out. Besides, consistent consistency is the last thing to be looked for in any system of ancient divination.[16] It is essential for the practical workings of any such system to be elastic. Without such elasticity it defeats its own purpose by prematurely revealing the weak supports upon which it rests.

[14] See the writer's article "The Hittites in Babylonia," *RS*, 1909, 87–96.

[15] That the later Assyrian scribes took liberties of this kind is perfectly natural. So the eighth month Araḫšamna, assigned in the scheme to Subartu, is described in a comment in Thompson, No. 183, rev. 1, as arḫu ša šarri be-li-ia šu-u "the month of the king my lord," which rests on the identification of this month with Subartu = Assyria. According to VR, 43, obv. 40 the eighth month is the festival of Dungi, which may have been an additional factor in prompting the Assyrian scribes to connect the month directly with the king.

[16] So e.g. in some sections of the Anu-Enlil series the four directions of the heavens are parceled out as follows:

South = Elam
North = Akkad
East  = Subartu or Guti
West  = Amurru

while in others we find:

North = Guti
East  = Elam
West  = Amurru
South = Akkad

The latter division is geographical, the former rests on association of ideas, south being unfavorable, north favorable, though we also find South = Akkad and North = Elam. See Jastrow, II, 507 and n. 2. To the references there given add Thompson, No. 271, obv. 10, North = Akkad.

# A HYMN TO ISHTAR, K. 1286

By Theophile James Meek
James Millikin University

## Transliteration

### *Obverse*

1. damiḳtu bi-lat Ninâ<sup>ki</sup> bêltu(?) e-li mâtâte
   šar-ḫat šú-ru-ḫat el-lit <sup>ilat</sup>Iš-tar<sup>pl</sup>
   Ninâ<sup>ki</sup> bu-un-bu-ul-lu ša-kin šá ina lìb-bi tu-
   [šib(?)]
   Ê-maš-maš šá ta-na-da-a-ti ša-kin ma(?)-.......

5. šá ina lìb-bi-šu aš-ba-tam <sup>ilat</sup>Iš-tar šar-ra-[tu]
   a-ki <sup>il</sup>Ašur ziḳ-ni zaḳ-nat nam-ri-ri ḫal-pat
   a-gu-u ina ḳaḳḳadi-ša a-ki kak-ka-bi...........
   šá ilu ša-na-a-ti da-i-ra-ti ša-kin(?) šá ki-i <sup>il</sup>Šamaš
   nap-ḫa-[at]
   zig-gur-ra-tú bal-ti Ninâ<sup>ki</sup> šá(?)-.......-mi na-
   šat..........

10. ûmu xvi<sup>kam</sup> šá <sup>arab</sup>Ṭebêtu e-ra ša Ê-maš-[maš
    ú]-nam-ma-ra
    tu-ṣa-a be-lit mâti <sup>ilat</sup>Bêlit ša[r-r]a-tú a-ši-bat...,.
    a-na aṣi-ša šá <sup>ilat</sup>Be-lit Ninâ<sup>ki</sup> e-riš-šu kàl ilâni<sup>pl</sup>
    šarru ib-bu-ti la-biš rab-bu-u-ti it-tal-bi-ša ku-....
    ina nikê<sup>pl</sup> el-la-a-ti ib-ba-a-ti Ašur-bân-aplu
    e-ru-ba [ana biti]

15. .......-du-uš šu-pa si-mat ilu-ti bi-el šarrâni<sup>pl</sup>
    ú-na-[aš-ši]
    ......-id-di-id ša ta-at-ta-aṣ-ṣi be-el šarrâni<sup>pl</sup>
    ......ta]-šal-li-ma ta-at-ta-šir ina bît la-li-e
    ša.........
    .......na-sik....pa-na-a uš-šir šub-ta-ša a-na
    [dârâti]

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K. 1286: OBVERSE
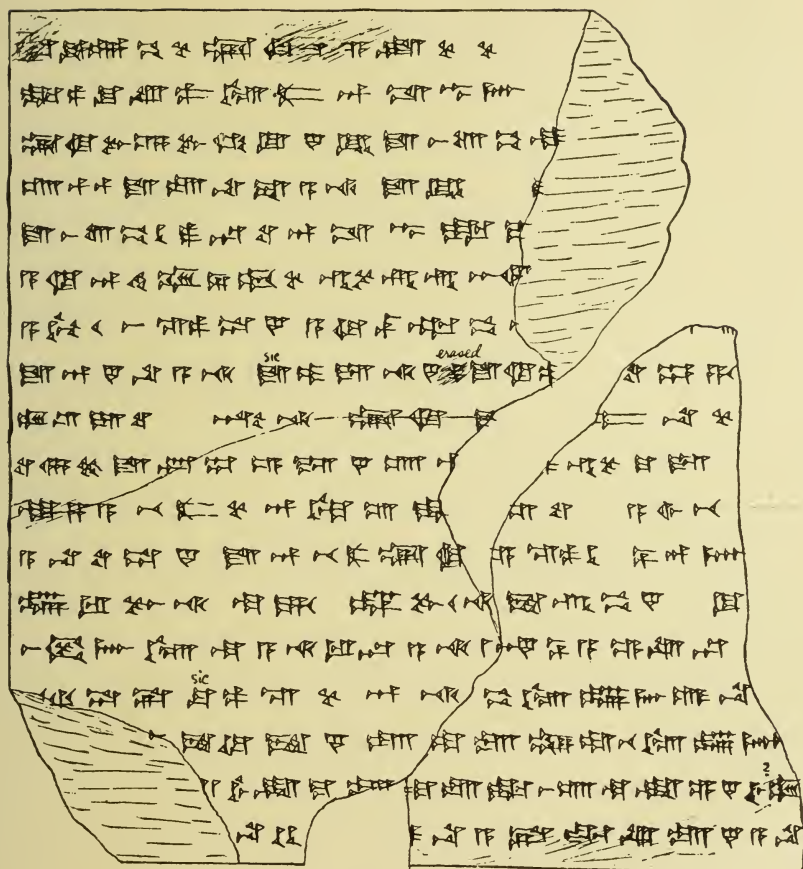
### TRANSLITERATION

#### Reverse

1. ................-iš el-me-ši ..........-ba ba-
   nu-u .........
   ...........-aḫ ù-mi-it Ašur-bân-aplu šar tak-
   ni-e ........
   .................ba-ni ḫi-e-pi eli nišê[pl] ....
   ..................-meš-ka       tar-ik(?) ib-
   kun ..........
5. .........-ti tam-tim eliš u šapliš li-ri-šu lil-li-ku
   ...........-ki šá mâtâte      liš-šú-nik-ka
   .....-e ra-bi-e Ninâ[ki] mi-taḫ-ḫur bilta ......
   kar-ra]-du(?) Ašur-bân-aplu mâru ki-e-nu pa-liḫ
   [ilâni rabûti]

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   ik-ri-bi an-nu-ti bi- ...........-e ak-.........
10. lu-la šá pi-ia lu-u li-........................

K. 1286: Reverse
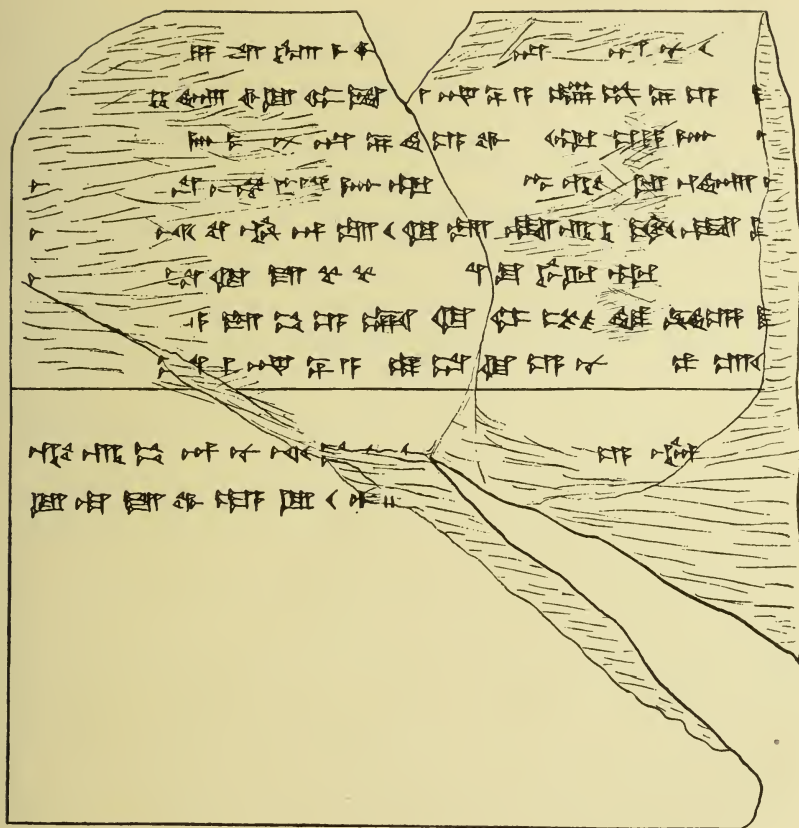
## TRANSLATION

### Obverse

1.  Gracious lady of Nineveh, sovereign over the lands,
    She is mighty in power, the illustrious one of the goddesses,
    She made Nineveh the sanctuary(?), in the midst of which
    she resides.
    Glorious E-mashmash she made the . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . ,
5.  In the midst of which she dwells, Ishtar, the queen.
    Like Ashur she is bearded with a beard, she is clothed with
    splendor,
    A diadem (shines) upon her head like a star,
    Whom a god has endowed with eternal years, who like
    Shamash flames.
    The majestic ziggurat of Nineveh she . . . . . . , she car-
    ries . . . . . . . . . .
10. On the 16th day of Tebet they made brilliant the cedar of
    E-mashmash.
    She went forth, the lady of the land, Belit, the queen who
    dwells . . . .
    At the going forth of Belit of Nineveh all the gods desired . . . .
    The king was covered with bright (jewels), he was clothed
    with majesty, he . . . . . . . . . .
    With pure and clean sacrifices Ashurbanipal entered [the
    temple.
15. A shining . . . . . . , the insignia of deity, the lord of kings
    bore.
    . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . thou wentest forth, lord of kings,
    . . . . . . . . . . . . thou wast successful, thou wast blessed in
    the splendid temple which . . . . . . . . . .
    . . . . . . . . . . he praised . . . . . . . . . , he blessed her dwell-
    ing [forever.

### Reverse

1.  . . . . . . . . . . . of a diamond . . . . . . . . . . bright . . . . . .
    The . . . . died, Ashurbanipal, well-prepared sovereign, . . . .
    . . . . . . . . . . . . he built, it fell upon the people . . . . . . . .
    . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . went to pieces, it fell(?) . . . . . .

5. May . . . . . . . of the ocean above and below go to its bounds,
   May . . . . . . . . of the lands be curbed.
   The great . . . . . . . of Nineveh received the tribute . . . . . .
   The mighty Ashurbanipal, the faithful son, reverences ⌊the
     mighty gods.

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   May these prayers . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
10. May the abundance of my utterance ⌊be acceptable to thee.

### NOTES

This text has been already published by J. A. Craig in his *Religious Texts*, Vol. I, pp. 7–8, and translated by Fr. Martin, *Textes Religieux*, pp. 36–40. Because of many new readings and new translations which I have been able to give, another publication of the text, I believe, is not out of place.

The text is a hymn to Ishtar. In it Ashurbanipal is represented as coming to the temple to worship the goddess and to supplicate her favor in some calamity that had befallen him. The hymn presents some points of resemblance to Ps. 45. It is important because of its religious significance, its use of tenses, and the presence of new words in it.

#### Obverse

1. The first sign is probably 𒀭𒌋 ; cf. II R 16, 26*b*.

2. šar-ḫat šú-ru-ḫat, a construction denoting intensity or certainty, like the Hebrew use of the infin. absol. with the verb.

3. bu-un-bu-ul-lu. The derivation of the word is uncertain, but Martin's meaning "sanctuary" is probably correct.

6. That Ishtar is here represented as having a beard may be an indication of the transformation of Ishtar into the Sabaean male deity Athtar; cf. Barton, *Semitic Origins*, pp. 125.f.

10. e-ra. The reference is probably to the woodwork of the temple interior, or possibly the bronze work. Erû has both meanings, "wood, cedar," and "bronze" (Muss-Arnolt, p. 49*a*). Martin gives the meaning "châsse."

#### Reverse

·4. ib-kun seems to be parallel to tar-ik and probably has a parallel meaning, "to fall."

6. liš-šú-nik-ka, evidently IV¹ of šanâku, or sanâḳu; cf. شَنَقَ , "to curb, check," etc. Martin's derivation of the word from נשא is possible, but the second person verbal suffix seems out of place here.

# THE ROYAL FEUD IN THE WADI HALFA TEMPLE:
## A REJOINDER

By James Henry Breasted
The University of Chicago

Three years ago Mr. Scott-Moncrieff, in the pages of the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*,[1] questioned the matters of fact regarding the records in the Wadi Halfa temple, which I had presented in my preliminary report on the work of the University of Chicago Expedition there. My reply[2] was confined strictly to the monument under discussion and to the accuracy of Mr. Scott-Moncrieff's examination of that monument as reported in his "notes." In his reply[3] to my defense of our work, unable to offer anything in rebuttal, he introduces four entirely irrelevant monuments. Had he confined himself to the subject of this discussion, the Wadi Halfa temple, I should have been very glad to let the discussion terminate with his "reply": the more so as the very temperate tone in which my article was written and the freedom from offensive personality there observed have not been maintained in Mr. Scott-Moncrieff's "reply."

I. The first of these monuments is the Annals of "Thothmes III," as translated in my *Ancient Records*. Mr. Scott-Moncrieff has discovered that in my translation of five lines of these Annals (first campaign, ll. 7–11), I have made serious omissions—not less than nineteen words "in five consecutive lines at the opening of one of the most important historical inscriptions there is"! He adds that plenty of similar omissions in my translation of the Annals can be found, if the reader will compare it with Sethe's text. The reader should note two facts regarding this discovery by Mr. Scott-Moncrieff:

First, he bases this criticism of my *Ancient Records* on the edition of the Annals of "Thothmes III" by Sethe, *an edition which appeared over a year after my "Ancient Records" were published!*

[1] *Proceedings*, January, 1907, 39–46.

[2] *Ibid.*, November, 1909, 269–279.

[3] *Ibid.*, December, 1909, 333–338.

Second. All of the "omissions" in my translation listed by Mr. Scott-Moncrieff are carefully indicated to the reader by me in the translation—a fact which Mr. Scott-Moncrieff fails to mention to *his* readers. Each such "omission" in the translation is due to a complete gap in the original hieroglyphic document due to time, wear, or vandalism. Sethe, endeavoring to fill these gaps on the wall, has inserted *editorial restorations—restorations carefully indicated by him as such by means of enclosing brackets.* Not a trace of the restored words so inserted exists on the original wall, but they are *in toto* conjectural insertions. It is the "omission" of these inserted and bracketed restorations of the original which Mr. Scott-Moncrieff gravely lays to my charge![4]

But my critic's keen eye goes still farther, for he discovers that I have even omitted a whole passage. He states that (p. 336) "the first six lines are omitted." We may put these six lines in the same limbo with the reliefs on the north wall of the Halfa temple; they are invisible only to the eyes of Mr. Scott-Moncrieff, for they are duly translated in the introduction to the Annals, where they belong (p. 175), and where he might have found them by turning two leaves. I leave it to the reader whether such criticism discloses errors in my translation or the capacity of the critic in the use of such materials. Mr. Scott-Moncrieff complains of the "grossly unfair" way in which he has been treated. There are evidently divers ways of showing unfairness.

II. The second irrelevant monument which Mr. Scott-Moncrieff has introduced into the discussion is the stele of "Thetha," in my translation[5] of which, he says he does not find it "difficult to detect similar errors." These errors consist of four examples of "omission." Upon turning to the translation as published, however, the reader finds that *in every case every such "omission" was carefully called to the attention of the reader,* a fact which Mr. Scott-Moncrieff studiously

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[4] Once also I am accused of mistranslating where I had myself ventured a conjecture as to the lost content of the gap, a conjecture which differs from that of Sethe. In l. 7, Mr. Scott-Moncrieff declares also that two words are "mistranslated." There are six words preserved in the line, viz., *T'rw m wdy't tpy't nt nḫt* (θaru em utit tepet net nekht) which I have rendered: "[his majesty was in] Tharu on the first victorious expedition." To express "victorious," the Egyptian uses a genitive, "of victory"; and I suppose these are the "two words" I have "mistranslated" as "victorious."

[5] *American Journal of Sem. Lang.*, XXI, 163–165.

refrains from mentioning to his readers. The reasons for these omissions in the translation were the obscurity and the difficulty of the text; and the omissions were deliberately and intentionally made. Such intentional omissions in translations will be found in the works of every living orientalist, and the more numerous they are the more does the translator indicate his caution.[6] Similar omissions will be found in Mr. Scott-Moncrieff's translation of the inscription of "Thothmes III" from the Wadi Halfa temple, and in the very reply containing the above criticisms, he openly says he "translated whatever portion he chose, in no way claiming" to furnish "a complete translation"! The text of the stele of "Thetha" was copied very hastily by a student of mine at a period so early in his studies that he copied it backward without knowing it. Naturally I placed no great dependence upon his copy, though it was a very creditable performance for one so inexperienced. When a scholar's intentional omissions, carefully indicated to the reader in each case— omissions such as Mr. Scott-Moncrieff himself states he made in his own translation of the Wadi Halfa inscription—are misrepresented to the readers of the *Proceedings* as "errors," in order to produce an impression of wholesale inaccuracy, the serious moral question involved is not eliminated by the preposterous absurdity of the whole affair.

III. Mr. Scott-Moncrieff also introduces, as a third irrelevant monument, the inscription of Ahmose of El Kab on which he says that "I insisted that the siege of Sharuhen lasted six years and not three." "The old reading of three years," he continues, "is shown to be correct by Professor Sethe." This statement is as exact as Mr. Scott-Moncrieff's "notes" on the temple of Wadi Halfa. There is not and there never has been any "old reading of three years." There was a reading of *five* years in Lepsius' text—a text which, because of its general accuracy, has been commonly accepted in this particular. *The correction of Lepsius' reading was not mine,* but was drawn from Champollion, who gives six. I naturally consulted the Berlin squeeze to determine whether Champollion might

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[6] They are even found in modern translations of the Old Testament, as in Cheyne's version of the fifty-second chapter of Isaiah, where he omits the difficult word usually rendered "sprinkle" (יַזֶּה, vs. 14), but indicates the omission by means of a star, just as I indicated the omissions in the "Thetha" text.

be right, and sure enough I found six strokes on the squeeze of
Lepsius. The squeeze was over sixty years old and naturally very
much worn. However, Sethe's examination of the original also
showed six strokes, precisely as I read the squeeze, but the original
showed them arranged in two groups of three strokes each—one
group close together, the other group with the strokes spread apart
and longer. Sethe concluded that the first three are the plural
strokes and the second three are to be read as a numeral. But the
actual number of strokes was not altered by Sethe's interpretation;
and the correction which Mr. Scott-Moncrieff attributes to me was
due to Champollion.

IV. The fourth irrelevant monument introduced by Mr Scott-
Moncrieff is my translation of the inscription of Si-Hathor in the
British Museum, in which I have corrected to sixteen the numeral
fifteen in the ancient text of Sharpe and Birch. Naturally any
scholar would appeal from a text of the early days of Egyptology
to the original if possible. I reported what I saw. Mr. Scott-Mon-
crieff has examined the monument *ad hoc.* Having been separated
from my papers in America by years of absence from home, I am
not able to put my hand upon my copy of the monument. I have
no photograph to check Mr. Scott-Moncrieff's reading, and judging
from his readings at Wadi Halfa such corroboration of his copies is
very necessary, but I am quite ready to admit that he *may* be right.
Assuming that he *is* so, his formidable list of errors, compiled with
much labor, from far and near, reduces to *one.* The question at once
arises: what has this one *possible* error to do with the facts observ-
able in the Wadi Halfa temple? I have no desire to reopen that dis-
cussion, but one or two further comments ought to be made on the
controversy.

Mr. Scott-Moncrieff complains that a contribution which he headed
"Some notes, etc." was assailed by me as a "report" intended to be
exhaustive. He made his "notes" the basis for casting serious doubt
on important matters of fact in the Halfa temple as communicated
in my preliminary report, and then complains because his "notes"
were accepted seriously and shown to be unreliable. The question
at once arises: why make observations admittedly not to be taken
seriously the basis for throwing doubt on the observations of others?

With regard to the north wall where so much of the important evidence in this temple is observable, Mr. Scott-Moncrieff now further states that according to his observation the specimen relief from this wall which I published in the *Proceedings* (November, 1909, Pl. XXXVIII) "is the only easily recognizable relief that exists on that wall"; and he adds that I have been unjust in "the selection of this *one* photograph" as representative of the wall as a whole.   I repeat what I first said in my reply to Mr. Scott-Moncrieff's criticism: "This north wall contains eight relief scenes occupying its entire length and still in a very good state of preservation."   Indeed, the reliefs are in an admirable state of preservation, and I have forwarded to the editor of the *Proceedings* blue-prints of all the eight reliefs.   These photographs show that the entire length of the wall is still covered with reliefs, which, with one exception, are all as clear as the one published in the *Proceedings*, while several of them are clearer. Hence I reiterate that an examination that did not perceive this is insufficient to determine the historical data discernible in this temple.

With reference to the changes in the wall, Mr. Scott-Moncrieff has entirely shifted his ground since writing his "notes."   He now says, "I am as well aware as Professor Breasted that the reliefs have been tampered with, and so far as I can recollect in every case where a block has been reset, or a niche left, the place so rearranged has *borne a relief representing the king*" (italics mine).   Such is his present statement.   In his "notes" he had said, "And even supposing that Professor Breasted were correct about the alteration of the blocks, it would be interesting to have his proof that the stones excised (as he thinks) *bore the name and figure of Hatshepset, or indeed of anybody else*" (italics mine).   It is evident that in his "notes" he regarded "the alteration of the blocks" as an improbable theory of mine which he did not share, and as to the *reliefs*, the less said the better.

Again, referring to the inscription of "Thothmes III," Mr. Scott-Moncrieff now says it "is a difficult one to read, being in a bad light and always in the shadow."   I cannot understand this.   I never saw an inscription better lighted.   It stands open to the sky all day long.   Furthermore, the inscription receives the full sunshine shortly after twelve o'clock and for some time during the remainder of the

day. This may be seen by examining Mr. Scott-Moncrieff's own plan, where he indicates the inscription by the letter "S" on the west side of the square pillar in the court. My photograph of it, published in the *Proceedings*, I took by sunlight, as it was shining on the entire document.

Finally, I regret very much Mr. Scott-Moncrieff's evident sense of injury because I referred *in a footnote* to the unfortunate cement plastering which now covers the lower portion of the inscription. I was very careful to make the statement impersonal, so as not to indicate that this plastering had been done at his positive orders, but that it had happened while his repairs were going on. These repairs were executed in October and November of 1905 (*Proceedings*, January, 1907, 39). I arrived at the temple early in January, 1906. As the "Thothmes III" inscription is the most important historical inscription in the temple, I examined it at once and found it as indicated in my photograph in the *Proceedings* (November, 1909, Pl. XXXIX). A few days later, being in the Government office at Halfa, I met Mr. Iles, representing Captain Morant, Governor of the Halfa Province, then absent; and I inquired of Mr. Iles who had made the repairs on the temple. I learned then from him for the first time that they had been done by Mr. Scott-Moncrieff. The *ghafir* at the temple had already stated that it was Mr. Scott-Moncrieff, but I had not before been able to understand his pronunciation of the name, as the Arabs are notably unable to pronounce European proper names. No repairs by anybody else during the few weeks intervening between Mr. Scott-Moncrieff's work and our arrival were mentioned. Neither has any report of repairs by anyone else ever been published. I could only conclude that the repairs on the pillar bearing the "Thothmes III" inscription had been executed by Mr. Scott-Moncrieff. I am still completely at a loss to understand how the repairs could have been executed by anybody else, but I wish to be entirely unequivocal. If Mr. Scott-Moncrieff categorically denies, as he does, that this plastering was done during his repairs, I accept his statement unconditionally, and I hasten to express my sincere regret that his very laudable efforts to preserve the Wadi Halfa temple should have been in any way reflected upon by me. And I should like to add that but for the doubt which he cast in his

"notes" upon our report of the facts observed in the Halfa temple, doubt which unavoidably involved the reproduction of this inscription, it would have been a matter to which I should never have referred.

All this is a small matter, however, when compared with the method of misrepresentation which Mr. Scott-Moncrieff has since seen fit to adopt. I called the attention of the editor of the *Proceedings* to these misrepresentations by Mr. Scott-Moncrieff and forwarded a brief statement of the facts without any personalities, for publication in the *Proceedings;* but this correction, not of error, but of misrepresentation, was refused, on the ground that no more space could be given to the matter. That is, space was granted in the *Proceedings* for deliberate misrepresentation, but all opportunity for correction was refused.

# SOME SEALS IN THE GOUCHER COLLECTION

By Ira Maurice Price
The University of Chicago

During a tour of the lands of the Bible in 1909, Dr. John F. Goucher, former president of the Woman's College, Baltimore, collected many interesting specimens of antiquities. Among these remains of ancient civilizations are a few seals which he kindly put into the hands of the writer to examine and describe.

These little specimens belong to widely different periods of history, and to different countries and civilizations. The uncertainty, too, of their *provenance*, leaves in doubt some of the questions which are always asked by students of this class of material. Even with all the facts of their place and date of discovery before us, there are still many elements of conjecture which must remain so, until we have a larger mass of archaeological data on which to base a conclusion. The most elaborate and comprehensive descriptions of this class of antiquities cannot be regarded as final.

Then, too, the cleverness of forgers of seals and similar specimens has puzzled at times even the expert, as seen in the disputes of scholars over the genuineness (or spuriousness) of the now famous Blau inscription. It is necessary to sound a note of warning to every would-be purchaser of such antiquities, as a rule, not to purchase such material except on the advice of specialists and experts. For convenience in description I have numbered these seals.

1. An early Babylonian cylinder of dark serpentine; wrought with a point; very distinct. Length 25 mm; diameter at end 15 mm.

A divinity is seated on a backless throne or stool which stands on a platform, clothed with a cap, surmounted by horns, with a flounced skirt; the left arm is almost hidden in the folds of the garment, and the right hand is extended and holding some object. Immediately in front of the face there is a crescent, and resting in a frame on the floor a long jar or urn. Approaching this divinity, and erect, is another person dressed exactly like the seated one and apparently a divinity leading by the hand

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SEALS FROM THE GOUCHER COLLECTION



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4.



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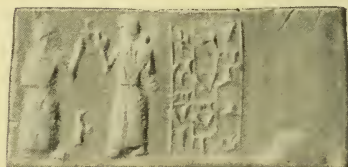


6.

a worshiper. This worshiper is clothed in a robe, fringed in front, wears a close-fitting turban and has a smooth face. The left hand is grasped by the goddess in front, and the right hand is held up in the attitude of adoration.

The date is probably about 2500 B. C., about the Gudea period.

The inscription of two lines reads:

A-ḪA-NI-ŠU

NITA NU-ÚR ᴰᴵᴺᴳᴵᴿ DUN-GI(?)

Aḫanišu, servant of Nur-Dungi

Similar names combining the word Nur are frequent: Cf. Nu-ur ᵈNin-gir-su, Nu-ur-i-li-šu, Bu. 91–5–9, 704, 12; Nur-AN-UT (= Šamaš, AV 6461); Cyr. 64, 1, Nur ᵈ Sin; Nu-úr ᵈDun-gi, cf. *ZA*, XII, p. 338; Nur-ᵈEuzu, etc. (Huber, *Personennamen*, p. 149) (due to D. D. L.).

Similar seals and figures may be found in *Cylinders and Other Ancient Oriental Seals in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan*, by William Hayes Ward, Nos. 52, 53, 54.

2. A Babylonian cylinder of hematite; wrought with a point; beautiful specimen. Length 27 mm; diameter at end 10 mm.

The seal carries on its surface two standing figures facing each other. The one in the short garment is the god Adad. He has upon his head a round, closely fitting cap, and wears a long beard. His left hand, folded up to his breast, seems to hold a rod or wand with two cross-bars at the end, and his right arm hangs by his side; he seems to hold something in this hand. On his left arm he has either a fringe, or is holding a sprig of laurel. Falling down in front and reaching almost to the ground is either the lower end of the laurel bough or a kind of sash. Facing him is his consort, the goddess Aa or Shala, with both hands upraised, with a headdress of an angular character, and a dress-skirt flounced from the waist down. Between the two very appropriately stands the thunder-bolt of Adad.

The inscription of two lines reads:

ᴰᴵᴺᴳᴵᴿ GIŠ-UNU-GAL

ᴰᴵᴺᴳᴵᴿ MA-MI-TU

The god Nergal

The god(dess) Mamitu

The seal bears the names, then, of the god Nergal, the god of pestilence, death, and the underworld, and of his consort Mamitu; and also in figures those of Adad, the thunder and storm god, and his consort Shala. The same two figures stand on No. 91 of *Cylinders and Other Ancient Oriental Seals in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan*, which Dr. Ward puts at the probable date of 2000 to 1500 B. C.

3. A Babylonian cylinder of pink carnelian; wrought with a point; slightly barrel-shaped.    Length 14 mm; diameter of end 7 mm.

It carries on its surface three standing figures.    One, a male figure, apparently nude, with arms akimbo, in the attitude of walking; on his head there seems to have been a pyramidal hat, but the top has disappeared on the seal.    Facing him is a somewhat shorter figure clothed down to the feet, and wearing a full round headdress.    Behind this figure, facing in the same direction, is another personage, a bit taller, with dress down to the feet, and a taller headdress, and with both hands uplifted in the attitude of adoration—perhaps the goddess Aa in her conventional attitude.    Between the nude figure and the one approaching there is a small animal, perhaps a tortoise.    Between the other two figures is a "libra" beneath, and quite overhead a vase, and between these two another small object.

For similar seals, see *Cylinders and Other Ancient Oriental Seals, etc.*, Nos. 63, 64, 65, and 66.

A line of inscription reads:

PAŠIŠU DINGIR ŠU-BU-LA
The priest of the god Shubula

The god *Shubula* is found in the inscriptions of the Cassite period. For example in Clay's *BE*, Vol. VIII, Part 1, p. 71, it appears in the name ᵐ*Kidinnu*-ᵈ*Shubulal;* also in *BE*, Vol. XV, p. 55, it is found in the name ᵈ*Shubula-iddina;* cf. also ᵈ*Shu-bu-lal-êrish*, Nbn. 1008:11.

It belongs to the style of seals usually located at about 1500 B. C.

4. A Babylonian cylinder of hematite; wrought with a point; considerably worn.    Length 17 mm; diameter at the end 8 mm.

It carries three erect figures.    The principal one is clothed down to the feet, and has a conventional round headdress.    The right arm is bent and held at the side and the left is extended; one leg is extended and the foot placed on an elevation like the conventional position of Shamash on early seals.    In front and nearly on a level with his face is a crescent, and beneath the outstretched hand two holes—possible symbols of twenty. Two figures approach this probable divinity, each clothed with a conventional turban and a skirt reaching only to the knees.    The foremost one lifts one hand in adoration, and holds the other akimbo.    The second holds one arm akimbo, the other hanging by his side.    Between the second and third figures and behind the third are two lines of writing as follows:

ᵈBA-AN-DUG NITA SI-RU-UM-GIL-LA(L)
Bandug, servant of Sirumgilla

The seal belongs to a period about 1500 B. C.

5. A Babylonian cylinder of lapis lazuli; wrought with the point; in excellent condition. Cuttings not sharp. Length 15 mm; diameter at the end 6 mm.

There are three standing figures. The one facing the other two has a turban with two small points on it. He has his right leg extended and bared, and the other covered with a ribbed skirt. His right arm is extended and so bent that it touches the face of the second personage. The left arm rests akimbo. The second person faces the first, has a ribbed skirt covering the lower half of the body. His left hand reaches out toward the first person, and the right arm is akimbo. The third person, behind the second, faces toward the first, has a ribbed skirt, with a full bust, and seems to hold up both hands together after the manner of the conventional Shala.

There is a two-line inscription which has a very suspicious arrangement.

6. A Babylonian cylinder of calcite crystal; wrought with a point. Length 22 mm; diameter of the end 15 mm.

Two standing figures face each other. Each is clothed with a full-skirt robe reaching to the feet. The one on the right wears a belt. The waist of each is peculiar. Their headdress is a high turban. Each has one hand raised and extended toward the other. Below and between them is the so-called "libra," and above, within reach of their hands, is a vase. To the right are three lines of an archaic inscription, and then to the right of these a wide vacant field. For a similar representation, see *Cylinders and Other Ancient Oriental Seals, etc.*, No. 72.

7. A Syro-Egyptian cylinder of hematite; wrought with a wheel and point, and in good condition. Length 18 mm; diameter of the end 8 mm.

The main features of the cylinder are the two figures facing each other, sitting upon stools. They wear on their heads the "pshent" with the uraeus. Their bodies are nude except the royal kilt fastened about the waist and conventionally thrust forward as they sit. Each holds out before him both hands supporting slender pyramidal objects, possibly loaves of bread. Above and between them is a star, doubtfully an object of worship. Below and between the knees is another object. Between the backs of the two sitting figures, above is an Egyptian vulture with wings outspread and beneath a sitting lion facing to the left with one paw uplifted. Behind the neck of the lion is another object, and under his paw a miniature symbol like that between the knees of the sitting figures. The cylinder possibly belongs to about 1400 B. C., when Egyptian influence was felt in Asia. It is neither Egyptian nor Syrian, but a hybrid piece of art whose date cannot be fixed.

SEALS FROM THE GOUCHER COLLECTION

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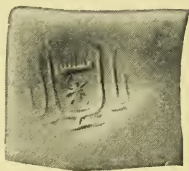
10.

11.

12.
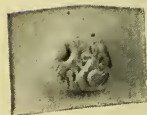
13.

8. A cylinder seal of a mottled brownish stone; wrought with a wheel, rather crude workmanship. Length 24 mm; diameter of the end 11 mm.

The cylinder carries two standing figures facing in opposite directions with a large open field between their backs. In the field between them facing each other we find an inscription of three lines in very archaic script. Each is clothed with a high hat and a flowing robe, reaching down to the feet. The figure on the left of the inscription has a fringed garment, and that on the right a plain one. The left figure holds up both hands in adoration and that on the right one hand, while the other is akimbo.

9. An Assyrian cylinder of white carnelian; wrought with a wheel and point. Length 21 mm; diameter at the end 11 mm.

Contains two winged rampant horned griffins with backs toward each other and faces turned about toward each other. Between them stands a personage facing to the left, and grasping the griffin before him and the one behind him, each by an uplifted foot. This hero has a full headdress, long hair and beard, and is clothed to his feet, almost resembling figures of the fish-covered body. One leg is extended and bare from the knee down. Between the griffins at the top is a six-branched star (Shamash?), and between the personage and the griffin in front of him is a lozenge or diamond. This probably belongs between 700 and 500 B. C.

10. An Egyptian lozenge-shaped seal of jasper; convex on both sides and pierced by a hole. It is 20 mm long; 18 mm in the widest part; and 6 mm thick in the middle.

It is cut on one side only, and that with a cartouche of Thothmes III. It is excellent workmanship on a hard bit of material. On either side of the cartouche we see ornamental line drawing.

11. An Egyptian scarab oval-shaped seal of jasper, oval on one side and flat on the other, the inscription-bearing side, and perforated length-wise. Length 15 mm; width 10 mm; thickness in the middle 5 mm.

The inscription bears the message: "Good lord, lord of the two lands."

12. A flattened conical Babylonian stamp of chalcedony, partially octago-nal, with beveled edges, and perforated near the top.

The figures are those of a Babylonian personage, probably a king, standing with hand uplifted in adoration before the symbol of the god Marduk. It may have originated any time after Marduk became the chief god of Babylon about 2000 B. C. Cf. *Cylinders and Other Ancient Oriental Seals, etc.*, Nos. 285 and 293.

13. A hemispherical seal of jasper, probably of Sassanian origin, with a palmette fringed about with a succession of fine lines. Perforated; 10 mm in diameter, being flat on the engraved side. For a similar seal, see Menant, *Glyptique Orientale*, 2ᵉ Partie, Pl. X, No. 11.

14. A barrel-shaped cylinder of banded agate; wrought with a point; well preserved. Length 20 mm; diameter of the end 9 mm.

It carries on the surface two standing nude children facing toward the left. Each has on the head a close-fitting skull cap. Each lifts one hand in front, and holds the other akimbo. Between the two there is an inscription of six letters, and to the left of the second, what appears to be three initials. No intimation can be given as to its date.

# DAKOTA CHRONOLOGY

By William Hayes Ward
New York City

May it not be of interest to observe that the American Indians have sometimes devised a system of designating the years precisely the same as that which was in use among the Babylonians? I find the following account of it in *The Word-Carrier*, a little monthly paper issued by the Santee (Nebraska) Mission School:

> For more than a hundred years a number of the different branches of the Sioux nation have kept calendars of the years. Here is the Calendar of the Hunkpapa Dakotas who live on Grand River and belong to the Standing Rock Reservation. It begins with the year 1788 [1798?] and comes down to 1908.

Then follows the list of years with the notable event in each, of which I give a few of the 111 years as examples of the entire series:

1. Honor songs with blue feather.
2. Caske the white man came.
3. Bringing water from beaver-dam.
4. Honor songs with deer hair.
5. Brought home curly-haired horse.
6. Brought iron-shod horse.
7. Seven pursuing enemy killed.
8. Struck down two.
9. Killed one with red coat.
38. Peace ratified.
39. Killed six Pawnees.
40. Smallpox.
55. Peace with the Crows.
61. Bluehead killed white buffalo.
79. First treaty with British.
85. Hunting buffalo with United States agent.
93. Sitting Bull killed.
96. Iron Thunder died.
97. Gall died.
98. Two Crows died.

  99. Six white men killed.
100. Three hung.
106. Meteor stone fell.
109. Gray Eagle's house burned.
110. Thunder Hawk died.
111. A woman is given land.

In reading the calendar one easily recognizes the changes in the condition of the tribe, the passage from British to American control, periods of war or sickness, and the change to a period of advancing civilization when they began to live in houses and a woman becomes a landholder. In the early years we observe ritual observances as among the Babylonians.

*The Word-Carrier* is edited by Rev. Alfred L. Riggs, D.D., whose father was an early missionary and who with his brother, also a missionary among the Dakotas, learned their language from infancy, and who is thoroughly familiar with their ways, so that full confidence can be put in the correctness of this calendar, which must have been handed down by memory. Its correspondence with the calendar system of the early Babylonians will be patent to any scholar.

# Book Notices

## SUMERIAN AND BABYLONIAN PSALMS[1]

Cet ouvrage contient la transcription et la traduction des textes religieux suméro-babyloniens, qui faisaient partie des collections usitées pour la liturgie officielle. Le plus grand nombre de ces textes ont été édités dans Reisner, *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen* (*SBH*), et dans les *Cuneiform Texts* (*CT*) du British Museum. A ce fond s'ajoutent quelques prières publiées dans IVR ou dans des revues (*BA*, *PSBA*, *ZA*), finalement deux morceaux qui figurent dans Haupt, *Akkadische und Sumerische Keilschrifttexte* (*ASKT*). Chaque texte est donné en transcription sur la page de gauche, en traduction sur la page de droite. Des notes concises, mais trop clairsemées, sont destinées à justifier l' interprétation de l' auteur.

Ce travail eût été excellent, si M. St. Langdon avait tenu compte du précepte de Boileau:

> Vingt fois sur le métier remettez votre ouvrage,
> Polissez-le sans cesse et le repolissez.

On ne peut se défendre — en parcourant ces pages — de l' impression que l' auteur a travaillé hâtivement. La disposition typographique elle-même révèle un certain négligé. Par exemple, le No. II de la "lamentation au verbe" (p. 10) n' a pas d' en-tête, et le profane ne comprendra pas pourquoi le No. I est intitulé "Lamentation to the amâtu," tandis que le No. II est intitulé "Lamentation to the word." De la p. 16 à la p. 29, le titre général "Lamentation to the word" disparaît du haut des pages, pour se représenter à la p. 32. A partir de la p. 72, il n' y a plus que le No. en tête de la page de gauche. Tout l' ouvrage eût gagné en clarté, si l' auteur et l' éditeur avaient veillé davantage à adopter pour chaque série une notation uniforme et à en faire ressortir les subdivisions. On dirait qu'il y a eu un certain tâtonnement au début de l' impression, car, à partir du No. X (p. 95), les indications sont mieux marquées, et plus uniformes. Une déplorable erreur a transporté à la p. 179 la traduction de la prière d' Ašurbanipal dont le texte figure à la p. 176, séparant ainsi de la tablette sixième les *addenda* de la p. 177. Ce sont là des extériorités qui n' enlèvent rien au mérite de l' ouvrage, et nous aurions mauvaise grâce à insister.

Une autre marque de travail hâtif serait peut-être les inconséquences qui çà et là apparaissent dans la transcription. Si l'auteur avait eu la bonté d'indiquer les principes qui le guident dans sa lecture du sumérien, il eût épargné souvent au lecteur la nécessité de recourir au texte original. Un tableau des signes assyriens avec leur équivalence sumérienne, dans le système adopté, eût été le bienvenu. On ne s'expliquera pas, par exemple, pourquoi le signe TAR, traduit deux fois par "street," est transcrit TAR à la p. 10, l. 16, tandis qu'il est transcrit SILA à la p. 2, l. 9. La seconde transcription est la seule bonne. De même, un passage transcrit KI-IL KI GĔ-EN à la p. 12, l. 29, se trouve être KI-IL KI-NE-EN dans la n. 7 de la p. 3. L'expression I-DÉ-GAB de la p. 112, l. 8, est restituée sous la forme I-DÉ-DŬ à la l. 7 de la p. 108. Et ce flottement pourrait se vérifier aussi dans la traduction. Ainsi, à la p. 84, l. 22, on trouve Á NU-MA-AL qui n'est pas rendu dans la traduction. Mais à la p. 2, l. 11, on avait Á-NU-MA-AL traduit par "she without fear." Toutes ces inconséquences auraient disparu évidemment, si les morceaux avaient été étudiés dans des vues d'ensemble, après avoir été transcrits et traduits séparément.

Une introduction de vingt-trois pages expose les idées de l'auteur sur la répartition des hymnes et des psaumes dans les offices publics. Le principe adopté primitivement pour le classement semble avoir été la nature de l'instrument de musique dont on se servait pour accompagner le chant. Les trois principaux instruments sont la flûte (ḫalḫallatu), le balaggu et le manzu (ou meṣû) que l'auteur traduit respectivement par "lyre" et "bagpipe," tout en reconnaissant le caractère hypothétique de sa traduction. Pour balaggu le sens de "tambourin" est soutenu par l'araméen בֶּלְגָּא de même que par l'idéogramme DUP (Sᵇ 155, 156), dont la valeur syllabique est une onomatopée qui se retrouve dans l'hébreu תֹּף et l'arabe دُفّ (cf. Jensen, KB, VI, 1, p. 443). Quant au manzu dont l'idéogramme est précédé du déterminatif SU "peau, cuir" (SAI, 6689), peut-être est-il aussi une sorte de tambour.

A propos des hymnes à Tammuz, M. St. Langdon insiste avec raison sur la distinction à établir entre la sœur du dieu, Bêlit-ṣêri, et son épouse, Ištar. Il propose d'identifier la seconde avec l'étoile Sirius. Selon nous, Sirius n'est pas Ištar, mais Ba-ú, la compagne de Nin-ib. Le dieu Nin-ib représente la constellation d'Orion, car il est l'étoile javelot (tartaḫu) qui a son lever héliaque au mois de Tammuz[2] et qui s'identifie avec Beteigeuze. Quant à Ba-ú, elle est la même que Gu-la qui, sur les kudurrus, a le chien pour animal. Sirius est bien l'étoile au chien, la canicule.[3]

La dernière partie de l'introduction est consacrée aux jours durant

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[2] Cf. Revue biblique, 1909, p. 324.

[3] Pour ces identifications, cf. notre ouvrage sur La religion assyro-babylonienne.

lesquels a lieu tel ou tel service divin. Pour le jour šabattu, l' auteur propose le sens de "wailing." Selon lui, le babylonien šabattu aussi bien que l' hébreu Šabbath signifierait le jour du mois où étaient exécutées les lamentations rituelles. Ce n' est que plus tard qu' on aurait inclus dans l' observance du Šabbath l' idée du repos. La démonstration fournie par l' auteur dans *ZDMG*, 1908, p. 30, est loin d' être convaincante. C' est se jouer de l' étymologie que de rattacher šabattu à sapâdu. La forme aurait dû être sapattu. On a tort, d' ailleurs, de bloquer sous une seule rubrique les cas où se rencontrent šabattu et šapattu dans les textes.[4] Pour l' équivalence ûm nuḫ libbi = šapattum de K. 4397 (*CT*, XVIII, pl. 23), l' élément šapattum doit se décomposer en ša pattum qui est le même que ša pattim du texte de Pinches (*PSBA*, 1904, p. 51 ss.). C' est "le jour du milieu" du mois, correspondant au quinzième jour. Quant à nubattu sa valeur n' est pas "mourning," mais "repos," et "soir."[5] Le mot ûm nubatti représente le jour où Nabû et Tašmêt vont prendre ensemble leur repos dans le temple.[6] La racine bâtu (בית) qui est à la base de nubattu pourrait bien se retrouver dans bittu ou battu, nom du vingt-huitième jour du mois, tandis que l' avant-dernier jour est le bubbulu, jour de deuil, qui précède la grande fête de Sin, au trentième jour (ûm šelašê).

Pour ce qui est de la traduction des textes, le travail de M. St. Langdon témoigne d' une grande pratique du vocabulaire sumérien. Dans les cas où le texte sumérien est accompagné d' une interprétation babylonienne, c' est une imprudence de s' écarter de celle-ci pour donner la préférence à une traduction directe du sumérien. M. Ungnad a indiqué, dans *OLZ*, 1909, col. 402 s., un certain nombre d' exemples où l' écart est vraiment trop considérable entre le texte babylonien et l' interprétation de M. Langdon. Ce devrait être un canon de faire passer avant tout la traduction du babylonien, car c' est grâce aux textes bilingues que nous connaissons le mécanisme du sumérien. Nous ne pouvons passer en revue toutes les interprétations de l' auteur; elles sont généralement très justes et appuyées par des notes dont la concision ne diminue pas la portée. A la p. 6, il faut corriger la n. 4, d' après ce que nous avons vu ci-dessus au sujet de la racine de nubattu. A la l. 24 de la même page, "les sept GI(G)-KISAL" d' Ištar sont à mettre en relation avec "les sept GI(Š)-PAR" d' Uruk (Br. 8932 f.; *SAI*, 6709 f.). A la p. 11, les ll. 23 et 24, où Ištar déclare qu' elle mange le pain et boit l' eau préparés pour les morts, sont interprétées comme si les rites funéraires étaient destinés à Ištar, "goddess of the underworld" (n. 10). Le sens de ces deux lignes est clair d' après la l. 25 où nous voyons qu' Ištar se plaint d' être comme

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[4] Cf. *Revue biblique*, 1908, pp. 464 f.

[5] Cf. l' excellente étude de Johnston, *The Assyrian Word nubâttu*, dans *Old Testament and Semitic Studies in Memory of W. R. Harper*, I, pp. 341 ff.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 344 ff.

une étrangère dans les rues. Elle en est réduite à manger et à boire ce qu' on prépare pour les Mânes. A la p. 12, l. 30, lire probablement kír-ni-gál, par attraction pour kír-nu-gál de la l. 31. On remarquera que la l. 1 du verso est parallèle à la l. 37 du recto. Au lieu de simug lire nisag (*SAI*, 4797) et, au lieu de gùr-zùr, lire íl-íl: il s' agit du prêtre nisakku "qui répand l' huile," dont le rôle est de lever (íl-íl) la corne (si) qui contient l' huile. L' expression nisag-si-íl-íl-bi "son prêtre qui élève la corne" est parallèle à zu-gal-gal-la-bi "ses grands sages" de la ligne précédente. Le si-íl "élévation de la corne" est précisément une opération parallèle à la libation d' eau dans Gudea, cyl. A, II, 6. On sait que la corne servait à contenir l' huile pour les onctions (Épopée de Gilgamès, tabl. VI, l. 188 ff.). C' est sans doute par distraction qu' à la même page, rev. l. 5, ud-da est rendu par "in the word," au lieu de "in the spirit" de la l. 11. A la p. 18, l. 25, le mot nittu parallèle à šubtu pourrait, lui aussi, signifier "demeure," en le dérivant de nadû: nittu pour nidtu. Les mots šat urri et šat mûši (p. 73, n. 20) s' opposent comme l' aurore et le crépuscule. Le temps du šat urri correspond à la veille du matin, namarîtu (Br. 2856, comparé avec *SAI*, 5901). En haut de la p. 96, l' avant-dernier signe (*SBH*, p. 31) était peut-être liš, confondu avec šad à cause de la ressemblance des deux signes. On lirait liš-lim comme dans le premier hémistiche. Aux ll. 4 et 5, la traduction de idlu par "immortal" est trop précise. Le sens de idlu est "homme" en général (*KB*, VI, 1, p. 373). Alors que l' épithète de Marduk, En-bi-lu-lu, est généralement transcrite Enbilulu, on trouve "divine ruler Bilulu" à la p. 103, l. 12, tandis qu' on aura Marduk à la p. 107. Dans ces litanies (p. 107 et p. 113), le mieux eût été de transcrire simplement l' épithète divine, en en donnant la signification en note, au lieu de la remplacer par le dieu qu' elle représente. Cette notation eût été surtout avantageuse pour le lexique. Ainsi la rubrique Bêlit-ṣêri (p. 345) sert à la fois pour Muš-ten-an-na, Múš-din-an-na, Mu-din-an-na, Gišten-anna, Múš-tin, Mu-ten-na. A la p. 136, rev. l. 4, lire íd-bil a el-la túm-túm-mu "mon canal nouveau qui porte des eaux pures" et cf. Gudea cyl. A, II, 6, 7. A la p. 140, l. 4, lire, d' après Hrozný, Ê-šu-me-rá "temple de Šumer," parallèle à la vieille cité sumérienne de Nippur. A la p. 145, l. 26, traduire par "mon dieu Gal-maḫ-an-na" au lieu de *divine Galmaḫanna*. A la p. 151, l. 7[2], lire En-dul-azag ou si on laisse "lord of Dulazag," traduire le mot suivant par "lady of Dulazag." Ce couple divin est donné dans *CT*, XXIV, pl. 4, l. 25; il s' agit, en réalité, du dieu et de la déesse qui sortent du dul-azag; cf. ᵈEn-dul-azag-ta-è-ne dans *CT*, XXIV, pl. 3, l. 21. A la p. 153, ll. 12 f., il s' agit deux fois du fils de Sin; le second vers est à traduire: Au rejeton lumineux de l' épouse de Nannar. On a zîr alti (ilu) Sin dans la traduction babylonienne, et alti est pourašti, aššati (=DAM). A la p. 158, l. 59, il faut joindre sil et dagal-la, d' après Br. 404 f.

Ces petites observations ne nous font pas perdre de vue la très réelle valeur de l' ouvrage de M. St. Langdon. Elles prouvent l' intérêt que nous avons mis à parcourir et à contrôler ses interprétations. Ces textes, si intéressants au point de vue de la mythologie et du sentiment religieux des Babyloniens, sont ici groupés et, le plus souvent, traduits pour la première fois. Le travail de l' auteur est un travail de pionnier, ce qui en explique les imperfections de détail que nous avons relevées çà et là. Si nous osions formuler un souhait, ce serait que M. St. Langdon reprît l' étude de ces textes au point de vue grammatical et lexicographique, et qu' il livrât au public le résultat de cette recherche. Ce sera compléter la besogne si utile, qu' il a entreprise depuis quelques années, de faciliter l' intelligence des textes sumériens. Ses suppléments aux listes de Meissner et ses diverses études dans les *Babyloniaca* sont déjà d' excellents augures.

P. Dhorme

Jérusalem
11 Novembre 1909

## AL-KINDĪ'S HISTORY OF THE QĀDĪS OF EGYPT[1]

This work, which Professor Gottheil has edited from the only manuscript now known to contain it, is one of very considerable interest and importance. The period which it covers begins with the first establishment of the office of qāḍī in Egypt in the year 31 A. H. (651 A. D.), at the beginning of the Mohammedan occupation, and extends to the year 424 (1033). This was the formative period of Muslim jurisprudence, and Egypt was a country in which many interesting things were happening.

In the case of each qāḍī the dates of his accession and removal, or death, are given, including usually the day of the month. The biographical sketches contain, as a rule, only matters connected with the office of the judge, not miscellaneous reminiscences. The authority by which he received his appointment is recorded, and if he was removed for cause, the circumstances are described. The official qualities of each incumbent of the office are set forth in more or less detail, usually in the form of a series of incidents from which the reader is left to draw his own conclusions. It is in the intrinsic importance of these recorded incidents that the chief value of the work lies. The material collected by al-Kindī, in particular, which forms the principal part of the compilation, contains much information, accessible nowhere else, which is of the first importance for our knowledge of the inner history of Egypt in the first centuries of the Mohammedan dominion. Illuminating hints as to political

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[1] The History of the Egyptian Cadis as Compiled by Abū Omar Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Ya'qūb al-Kindī, together with Additions by Abū al-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Burd. Edited from the unique MS in the British Museum by Richard J. H. Gottheil. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1908.

and social conditions are given, official documents are sometimes quoted *in extenso*, and especially, of course, we are given much detailed information as to the evolution of the office of qāḍī and the actual administration of justice. Many of the narratives are entertaining as well as instructive, and this is true also of not a few of the many bits of poetry which are scattered through the book. The popular or partisan estimate of the official occasionally crystallized in a few verses, laudatory, denunciatory, or satirical, which were thereupon handed about, and served much the same purpose as the cartoons in our illustrated periodicals. Some of these verses are decidedly amusing, besides being written with some literary skill. Such, for instance, are the several productions (pp. 82 ff., 95 f.) written in ridicule of certain Copts who succeeded in getting themselves pronounced pure-blooded Arabs by a bribed judge and suborned witnesses; or the verses which describe, with elaborate sarcasm, the changed circumstances of the magistrate who, together with all his near relatives and cronies, rose from poverty to magnificence by misappropriating the funds intrusted to him (p. 80); or the somewhat excited lines (p. 135) called forth by the controversy over the tall hats which Ibn Abi 'l-Laith had prohibited. The qāḍī al-ʿUmarī is vehemently denounced, in several scraps of poetry, for his wine-drinking and his unholy love of music (p. 83); some of his fellows are even more sharply called to account for their alleged dishonesty. It is not surprising that the offending poet—when he could be discovered—was sometimes roughly handled.

In the Introduction (pp. iii–xvii), Gottheil treats at some length the history and significance of the office of qāḍī. This is a subject to which he had previously paid some attention; see especially his article, "A Distinguished Family of Fatimide Cadis," in the *Journal of the Am. Oriental Soc.*, Vol. XXVII (1906), pp. 217–96. A still more thoroughgoing treatment of the matter, using all the available material, would be very welcome; at present, some important points remain obscure. It is a pity that the text of al-Kindī could not have been accompanied at once by a translation; this, however, we may perhaps hope to receive later.

The history of the Egyptian qāḍīs has been written, expanded, or revised by several hands, as has long been known, and the publication of this text brings to light some interesting problems. According to all the later Mohammedan writers, al-Kindī first wrote the history of the qāḍīs, carrying it down to the year 246, from which point his work was continued by Ibn Zūlāq, who belonged to the next following generation. This expanded history was thenceforward the standard work in its field, and is the one which Ibn Ḥajar († 852) took as his chief early authority in compiling his own biographical dictionary of the magistrates of Egypt, entitled رَفْع الإصْر في قُضَاة مصر. No other continuation of al-Kindī's monograph than that by Ibn Zūlāq has been known. But in this

solitary manuscript, preserved in the British Museum, there is a surprise for us. The portion of the history purporting to have been written by al-Kindī does indeed extend to the year 246. At that point, after the introductory announcement regarding the qāḍī Bakkār, there is a note in the MS (fol. 215a) which reads: آخر ما عمله ابو عمر من اخبار قضاة مصر, "Here ends what Abū ʿUmar [al-Kindī] composed of the history of the qāḍīs of Egypt." But the continuation, carrying on the history of Bakkār's term of office, and following it with the account of his successors down to the year 366, when ʿAlī ibn an-Nuʿmān was given the formal appointment, is not the work of Ibn Zūlāq, but that of an otherwise quite unknown writer, whose name is given (ibid.) as Abu 'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān ibn Burd. This dhail of Ibn Burd was obviously composed for the purpose of supplementing al-Kindī, whose spoken (not written) word is once expressly quoted, on p. 159, l. 4 (fol. 220b). Its author cites as his chief authority, for the years 246–314, Muḥammad ibn ar-Rabīʿ ibn Sulaimān al-Jīzī,[2] and brings the history down to his own day (as his pupil says, p. 149, l. 5: الى عصرنا هذا). For the history after the year 314 he names no authorities at all; saving that on one occasion, as already mentioned, he says of a certain piece of information that he had received it verbally from al-Kindī. He must have died soon after the year 367, the latest date which his dhail contains.

But this is not all. There is also a second appendix, this time anonymous, composed in continuation of Ibn Burd. It is introduced (fol. 222b) by the words: بقية التالى لكتاب ابى عمر محمد بـن يوسف الكندى فى اخبار قضاة مصر. Its first item is a correction of Ibn Burd's statement regarding the accession of Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Naṣr, the next to the last of the qāḍīs named by him. He had given the date (p. 161, l. 9) as the second rabīʿ of the year 348; his continuator, on the contrary, asserts that it was the first rabīʿ of the year 347. That this was expressly intended as a correction of Ibn Burd, and written for this place, seems plain from the fact that the writer says not a word more about this qāḍī, but goes on at once with ʿAlī ibn an-Nuʿmān, with whose appointment to office Ibn Burd had ended his work.[3] The

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[2] This same Muḥammad ibn ar-Rabīʿ is also cited once or twice by al-Kindī. I have not been able to ascertain the date of his death. Ibn Saʿīd (ed. Tallquist, p. 101) mentions him in connection with events of the year 306. His father, ar-Rabīʿ, who was a man of some note, died in the year 256 (Khall., tr. Slane, I, 520; Yāqūt, II, 177; Ḥusn, I, 186). He must not be confused with his contemporary, ar-Rabīʿ ibn Sulaimān (who also had a son named Muḥammad), who is often mentioned as a disciple of aš-Šāfiʿī.

[3] Gottheil edits here with a row of dots between the date and the following name, but in his notes on the text nothing is said of any blank space at this point. The dots, therefore, presumably express his opinion that something is missing which originally stood here; but if the view advanced above is correct, the text stands just as it was originally written.

date of ʿAlī's accession, also, is corrected.  According to Ibn Burd, the removal of Muḥammad from office and the reading of ʿAlī's diploma in the mosque had taken place on the same day; but from the continuator's statement it appears that there was an interval of just one week.  The new *dhail* is then carried on as far as the year 424, that is, presumably, to about the time when it was composed (notice the way in which the words اتّصل بنا are used on p. 165, l. 9, and p. 166, l. 14).  It is very meager until the last qāḍīs are reached, and even then what we have is merely two or three incidents long drawn out, rather than any really extensive information.  The writer names no authorities, and presumably did not expect himself to be cited as an authority by subsequent writers. He merely wished to bring al-Kindī down to date for practical purposes, and made his task as light as possible, putting down only the necessary names and dates, and in the latter part the few additional items which he happened to recollect.

The story of al-Kindī's history of the qāḍīs, then, so far as we are able to trace it, seems to have been as follows:

1. Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam († 257) included in his *Conquest of Egypt* a concise account of the qāḍīs.  He belonged to a family which was much interested in jurisprudence, and his father, ʿAbdallah ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, had been associated with the qāḍī as censor of witnesses (he was not himself qāḍī, as Brockelmann, *Gesch.*, I, 148, and others have said).  He was above all things a student of the Tradition, interested in the *isnād* as well as in the fact behind it, and his chief concern was with the earlier period of Egyptian history.  Hence it was that his biographies of the magistrates, which were at first tolerably extended, dwindle as they approach his own day until they become at last little more than a succession of names and dates.

2. Al-Kindī († 350) was one of those who handed down the فتوح مصر of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam.  From the author himself the text was passed on to his pupil, Alī ibn Qudaid.  From the latter it was then received and transmitted by two scholars.  One of these was Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Faraj al-Qammāḥ, from whom we have the "standard" text found in three of the four known manuscripts and attested elsewhere (e. g., in Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, I, 6); the other was al-Kindī, whose recension is preserved in MS 1686 of the Bibliothèque Nationale.  The name is incorrectly written at the beginning of the manuscript (fol. 1b, أبو عمر بن محمد بن يوسف الكرمانى, which must be emended to أبو عمر بن محمد بن يوسف الكندى), whence it happened that Slane, in his *Catalogue*, and other scholars failed to recognize the interesting fact.  At the beginning of other chapters — for example, the one treating of the qāḍīs — the name is given correctly.

3. Al-Kindī revised and greatly expanded Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam's chapter on the qāḍīs, making out of it a new and highly important monograph. His chief interest was in the history, not in the science of tradition, and his work was most voluminous just where that of his predecessor had been most scanty. The period of history which was covered by the compilation included those things which were most momentous in the development of early Muslim jurisprudence: the Muʿtazilite controversy and the *miḥna*, or religious inquisition, under al-Maʾmūn; the reactionary reign of al-Mutawakkil; and the establishment of the four great schools of law. Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam had ended his chapter with the year 246, and al-Kindī closed his own *History of the Qāḍīs* at the same point. This has recently been doubted by Mr. H. F. Amedroz, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (October, 1909, pp. 1145 f.), but on quite insufficient grounds. Ibn Ḥallikān (tr. Slane, I, 388) says that al-Kindī's annals of the qāḍīs extended to the year 246; and adds, that Ibn Zūlāq's continuation of this work began with the biography of Bakkār ibn Qutaiba. This corresponds exactly with what we have before us in the London manuscript. Both Ibn Zūlāq and Ibn Burd were personally acquainted with al-Kindī, and in all likelihood both were pupils of his.[4] Each one of the two, in writing a continuation of his monograph, began with the year 246.[5] It is really additional testimony to the same effect when Ḥājī Ḥalīfa (ed. Flügel, No. 2,312) says that al-Kindī *died* in the year 246; someone's statement in regard to the end of his *History of the Qāḍīs* had been misunderstood. Amedroz lays weight on the fact that a certain anecdote of the qāḍī Bakkār is told by Ibn Ḥajar on the authority of "al-Kindī," though it is not found in the present work. But this is easily explained. The anecdote in question comes from Ibn Zūlāq (see Ibn Ḥallikān, IV, pp. 592 f., in the biography of Yūnus ibn ʿAbd al-Aʿlā), and moreover, not from his account of the qāḍīs, but from his *Taʾrīḥ Miṣr*. The ascription to al-Kindī is probably merely an instance of the very frequent confusion of master with pupil; and, in any case, there is nothing to suggest that the anecdote ever stood in al-Kindī's work *on the qāḍīs*. Amedroz says further (*ibid.*, p. 1146) what implies that evidence exists tending to show that Ibn Zūlāq's work on the qāḍīs may have begun with the year 335. But where is the evidence to be found? The note on the margin of fol. 131*a*, in this manuscript, referred to by Amedroz, has to do only with al-Kindī's account of the *governors*, which was cut short by his death just as he had brought it down to the year 335. It is certainly not permissible to give the statement any connection with his account of the *qāḍīs*. He may of course

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[4] This was certainly true of Ibn Zūlāq; see Gottheil's article in the *Journal of the Am. Or. Society*, XXVIII (1907), p. 255, l. 14; p. 263, l. 9. In the case of Ibn Burd it is at least probable; see what was said above in regard to him.

[5] Ibn Ḥajar, in his *Rafʿ al-Iṣr*, quotes expressly from Ibn Zūlāq in the biography of Bakkār ibn Qutaiba; Gottheil, *ibid.*, pp. 255 f.

have hoped to take up again, at some later day, the last-named work, and continue it from the year 246 down to his own time, or he may have suggested such a continuation to his pupils; as to that we have no information. But this much seems certain, that every particle of evidence, external and internal, goes to show that Ibn Zūlāq's اخبار قضاة مصر,

that is, the part which he himself compiled, began with the life of Bakkār ibn Qutaiba.

4. Ibn Burd wrote a *dhail* to al-Kindī's history of the qāḍīs, carrying it down to the year 367, which was probably near to the date of his death (see above). It was an inadequate continuation, and was eventually superseded by the more elaborate work of his younger contemporary, Ibn Zūlāq. The original monograph of al-Kindī continued to be handed down without either continuation. This was probably the case in the recension which here lies before us. Ibn an-Naḥḥās († 416; more than ninety years old at the time of his death; *Ḥusn* I, 175), who transmits the text, received it from its author; and if he had included Ibn Burd in his recension, we should pretty certainly have some indication of the fact on fol. 215*a*.

5. An unknown writer, who flourished in the early part of the fifth century, wrote a continuation of Ibn Burd's *dhail,* correcting one or two of its statements and bringing the annals of the qāḍīs down to 424 A. H. He may or may not have known Ibn Zūlāq's work; if he did, he presumably found it much too extensive for his own purpose. This doubly expanded edition of al-Kindī was probably very little used. Our unique manuscript is a copy made in Damascus in the year 624.

6. Ibn Zūlāq († 387), whose works seem to have been to a considerable extent an expanded repetition of those of his teacher al-Kindī, handed down the latter's قضاة مصر and supplemented it with a *dhail* that was really adequate. He doubtless knew, and possibly used, the work of Ibn Burd. If we had for this period a considerable number of such citations as the one from aḏ-Ḏahabī noticed by Amedroz (*loc. cit.,* p. 1145), we might be able to reach a sure conclusion on this point. The appendix began at the year 246, and was carried as far as 386, the year before the one in which the author died; so we are told by Ibn Ḥallikān (*loc. cit.*), and Ibn Ḥajar's *Rafʿ al-Iṣr* in the biography of Muḥammad ibn an-Nuʿmān quotes Ibn Zūlāq by name (Gottheil, *JAOS.,* XXVIII, p. 256).[6] The later historians and biographers, such as Ibn Ḥajar, seem to have used al-Kindī chiefly, or only, in the edition of Ibn Zūlāq.

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[6] In the Introduction to the present volume, p. xviii, and also in the *JAOS.*, XXVII, p. 224, Gottheil speaks of 386 (996 A. D.) as the year of the death of the qāḍī Muḥammad. That is not the case, however; it was the year of the death of the caliph al-ʿAzīz, and three years before that of Muḥammad, which occurred in 389.

Besides the Introduction and the Arabic text, Gottheil has given us a full and very helpful Index of Proper Names, and about twenty pages of Notes. These last deal almost exclusively with the text, and contain a great many parallel readings from Ibn Ḥajar. Unfortunately, they are not put at the foot of the page, but occupy a distant part of the book. This arrangement is sometimes necessary in a voluminous commentary, though even there it is usually undesirable, but for such notes as these it ought never to be employed. In the present case, the inconvenience is made all the greater by the character of the text and the way in which it is treated. Editing a unique Arabic manuscript is a very difficult matter at best, and this London codex, though well written and on the whole trustworthy, needs to be corrected in a good many places. In the work of emendation Gottheil is both conservative and judicious, but he seems to have printed the text before fully making up his mind how to edit it. What he gives us, in the body of the book, is neither a diplomatic reproduction of the codex nor the result of his own study, but something halfway between. The reader is therefore kept constantly turning to the notes and back again. Doubtless some necessity of haste, and the difficulties resulting from printing the text abroad (in Rome), are chiefly accountable for this defect in the edition.

For the criticism of the text Gottheil was able to use four Paris manuscripts. Two of these contain the رفع الإصر , in compiling which Ibn Ḥajar made extensive use of Ibn Zūlāq's edition of al-Kindī; the third is an abridgment of Ibn Ḥajar by his grandson, Ibn Šāhīn. Though these are often very helpful, the type of text which they exhibit is generally less primitive than that of Ibn an-Naḥḥās. The fourth MS is one containing Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam's annals of the qāḍīs, Part VI of his فتوح مصر . This is the MS which was mentioned above as containing al-Kindī's recension of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam. It is interesting to observe that the text of this recension exhibits a number of peculiarities which are also found in the London text of al-Kindī. Thus, the very well-known name سليم بن عنز is invariably written سليم بن عنتر ; the even more familiar ابن لَهِيعة is pointed لُهَيعة ; and in the isnāds each حدثنا فلان is followed by قال , while in the more common usage, followed by all the MSS of the other recension of the فتوح مصر , as well as by the Ibn Burd appendix (149, 5) in the Kindī MS, the قال is used only after the last name in the series.[7]

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[7] The fact must not be overlooked that there are *two* copies of the *Futūḥ Miṣr* in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Gottheil, p. xviii, speaks of "the" Paris MS; and Amedroz, p. 1143, speaks of "the finely written MS of Paris," which description shows that he has in

The text as printed in this edition, after receiving all the emendation suggested by Gottheil in his notes, still needs to be corrected in a great many places. Some of these have been pointed out by Amedroz, *loc. cit.*; still other instances are the following. I have not included the typographical errors, which are also numerous.

3, 1. The last name in the marginal gloss (see note) was certainly ابو عمر , not ابو بكر . Cf. what was said, above, as to the age of Ibn an-Naḥḥās.—L. 10. For عن ليث read وعن الليث , and put a period after ابيه.—4, 6. Judging from the great multitude of similar cases, the word قال has fallen out after يوسف.—L. 13. The history has been sadly confused here by an accident. In one of the MSS from which this one was descended a single leaf was transposed. To restore the original order, the section which begins with the last word (حدثنا) of l. 2, p. 6, and ends with the last word of l. 11, p. 7, must be inserted between ll. 13 and 14 on p. 4. There must be no paragraph division at the beginning of the section; at the end of it the break occurred in the middle of a sentence.—L. 16. Cancel the last five words.—5, 12. For يقضى read يقصّ.—L. 16. For قاضى read قاصّ.—6, 16. Gottheil inserts وكان by conjecture, and does not understand the two preceding words. Should not the MS be read and pointed as follows: فبالغرب كثير من البربر فى مواليه ?—L. 18. Read اميرى.—9, 1. The very carefully and correctly written London MS of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam always writes this name علّى بن رَباح.—L. 2. MS فاتره . Probably IV stem, and pronounced in the popular way, فاقره (for فاقرَئّه , which form actually stands here in the London MS of Ḥak.).—L. 17. For صاحبه صاحب الخراج read صاحبه الجارح (cf. l. 10).—10, 19, last word. Read قاصّا.—12, 17. Read وسرف فى العطاء.—13, 5. The name of this man is محمد بن الربيع (not ربيعة), see the note above, p. 185. The same mistake p. 124, l. 3. Correct the Index accordingly, and add to the references there 152, 9 and 153, 13.—L. 18. Add حدثنا at the end of the line.—14, 19. For مسلمة read مسـٔلة.—15, 3. Insert another قال after وردان.—L. 4. فانّه وإن اخذهم يبيع رزقه is plainly wrong. I

mind the other codex, not used by Gottheil. It may be worth while to add, that in the Paris MS 1686, written in 585 A. H., the chapter on the qāḍīs is comprised in foll. 140*b*–51*b* (Gottheil: "140*b*–141*b*"), which would make about twenty-six pages (Gottheil: "thirteen pages") of the London MS of al-Kindī.

should conjecture: فانّه كان اخذهم ببَيِّع رزقِه; cf. the account
which follows.—18, 6. There are two similar names, شَراحِيل (the correct
one here) and شُرحبِيل, but no such name as the one given by this
MS.—L. 10. Insert حدثني after the first قال.—L. 19. The name is
أُبَذا, not انذا; see Wüstenfeld's *Tabellen*.—19, 6. Something is miss-
ing from the text here. Either this MS or one of its ancestors accidentally
dropped a line or two just after the word سعيد. 'Ubaid Allāh ibn
Sa'īd was not a سعدى (the Index must be corrected accordingly), and
since he flourished in the third century he cannot have taken part in this
incident of the year 83. Who the al-Ḥārith as-Sa'dī al-Ḫaulānī was, I
do not know. Probably مرة اخرى should also be inserted in l. 8 after
الحارث, as in Ibn Ḥajar (text given in Gottheil's note).—24, 4. For عبد
الله بن الحجاب read عبيد الله بن الحجاب, and cf. Ibn
Duqmāq, IV, 39, 131; Ibn Ḫaldūn, IV, 188 (ابو القاسم). Correct the
Index accordingly.—25, 8. Cancel اللِّيث ! It came in from the pre-
ceding line.—Ll. 15 ff. The wind cast a scrap of paper (صُكاءَة) upon
his lap (حِجر), not an iron shovel (مِسكاة) upon a rock (حِجرة).—27, 4.
The name in the second half of the line is of course not the subject of the
verb قال, but the *superscription of the section* which begins here. It
should either be overlined, or else omitted altogether, with a note.—
28, 4. For وسبعين read وتسعين.—L. 19. For the first عن read
بن.—32, 16. The name is خُذامِر, as in the better MSS of Ibn 'Abd
al-Ḥakam.—34, 11. For جوزتين, which makes no sense, read خَرَّزتين.
—L. 13. For ابن رزين read ابن وزير.—35, 14. Apparently, the most
important word in the clause has been accidentally omitted. Was it
مظلومًا, following كان ?—36, 13, 15. In both places read الحجاب,
and correct the Index accordingly.—L. 15. There is a bad gap in the
MS here, which the editor has not noticed. The qāḍī Yaḥyā was not
directly followed by Tauba. Two others intervened, namely, Yazīd ibn
Abdallah ibn Ḫudāmir and al-Ḫiyār ibn Ḫālid. These are duly named
in the *Futūḥ Miṣr* and the *Ḥusn*, and what is more, they were obviously
included here by al-Kindī, since we are told at the top of the next page
that Tauba received his appointment *upon the death of al-Ḥiyār*. A
considerable passage has therefore been lost here by accident. It may
be possible to bridge the gap in part by the help of Ibn Ḥajar and Ibn
Šāhīn—neither of which I have seen.—37, 1. For الجبّار read الخيار.—

L. 10. For فَأَمَّا إِن read فَأَمَّا أَنْ , and delete the period just preceding.
Amedroz has pointed out the true reading of the remainder of the line.—
L. 15. فَأَبَت الطلاق فصاحت will not do in this context.  The first
two of these words must have been فَأَنتِ طالق in the original, and
the two immediately following were parenthetical, thus:  Her husband
said to her, "You are divorced" (she cried out, but he continued) "if you
ever say a word to me about any litigant," etc.—38, 5.  The reading of
the next to the last word in the line must be إِنْ , not أَنْ .—L. 16.  For
المرأَة read امرأَة .—L. 17.  The correct reading (see Gottheil's note) is
لَرسا لله .—43, 9.  The name is بِشر , not نشر ; cf. 44, 14; 50, 18; etc.
Correct the Index.—44, 10.  After أحمد بن several words have been
accidentally omitted; cf. l. 14.—46, 12.  Insert كان after قال .—51, 11.
The first word in the line should be divided into two words, وَا ذَلَّة .—
55, 3.  Read فكأنَّ .  For اونحن read اذا نحن , as in Ibn 'Abd al-
Ḥakam and Ibn Ḥajar.—L. 15.  Cancel ابن at the end of the line.—
56, 1.  There is a considerable gap here, not noticed by the editor, after
the word بكر .  In the passage which has fallen out, the story of the
murder of Ibn 'Utba was told.  The text as it now stands makes no
sense.—L. 9.  For ابن read من .—59, 3.  For فإنّ read بأنّ .—L. 14.
For إلى أَبى read إلى ابو .—60, 11.  The name is سعد , not سعيد .
According to the Index, p. 170, the matter is in doubt; but a statement
in the text, 17, 2 f., makes it absolutely certain.—61, 9.  Read فقام .—
L. 11.  The note, p. xxviii, proposes to emend here, but the text is correct
as it stands.—L. 19.  For أبى جعفر substitute المهدىّ !  This *lapsus*
was probably made by al-Kindī himself.—62, 19.  After وغوث must be
inserted قاضٍ , as in Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam (see the note).  The two words
are parenthetical.—65, 19.  For إلى أحمد read لأحمد .—67, 1.  For
أخذ read أَهذا .  (I had made this correction before seeing that Ibn
Ḥajar actually has the reading.)—69, 3.  The reading of the MS, وأنبِنى
(the usual license), is required.—L. 10.  The readings given by Ibn Ḥajar,
عندنا , and لها , are the correct ones, as shown by the context.—71, 1.
For the bare name ربيعة , as the partial name of a man otherwise

unidentified, two references, 71, 1 and 59, 1, are given in the Index. In the present passage the man is evidently Rabīʿa ibn Farrūḫ († c. 140); in 59, 1 the name is not ربيعة, but ربيع, namely Rabīʿ ibn Yūnus, the chamberlain of al-Manṣūr, as the context makes quite certain.—L. 9. For the second عن read أَنْ.—77, 9. Abu ʾl-Baḫtarī.—79, 9. For بين بين عمرو بن يزيد read عمر وبين يزيد.—L. 11. Read منزلة.— 80, 8. Read يصيّر.—L. 9. In the Index, p. 175, the name al-Jaʿdī is put by itself. But this was merely a *nisba* of Ašhab, who is named in this same line.—L. 12. Read آيَة and يُرهب.—81, 16. The last four words in the line must be canceled. Someone was misled by the adjective الشرقى into thinking of the district الشرقيّة in Upper Egypt. Hence the conflate text (into which a second الحوف then came by accident). These people came only from the eastern al-Ḥauf and from the Syrian desert; see 72, 7.—82, 4. Read الزُور.—L. 10. Read جِبْلَّه "his tribe," or حَبْلُه "his tie of kinship"? The reading of the text is impossible.— L. 11. Read سفاهًا and وأُجْلِبُوا.—L. 12. The meter requires رَغْمًا.— 83, 4. Both meter and sense demand ذَكَرْتُ.—84, 1. Instead of البلا الثلاثين read بَيْن, i. e., "the whole month"; cf. the following line.— L. 4. Read ولْتَكْشِفنَّ.—L. 9. Transfer the ة to the *second* half-verse.— 85, 11. For تُصَبْ read يُصَبْ.—L. 12. Read الكَدَبْ.—L. 17. Read أوبقى (as plur. of صائِب).—L. 18. Point كريمَ.—88, 6. Write الصَيَبْ as one word.—92, 15. For نجى من read نُجّى عن (see the note).— 93, 17. Read ناحية.—96, 14. The meter requires the pointing مُلَصَّق. —98, 18. For أن يحيى read أَنْ يُحْيَى. This is a verb, not a proper name. Correct the Index accordingly.—101, 10. Another gap in the text. It is plain that something, probably one line of a MS, has fallen out after the word عن.—L. 11. Point إنّه.—102, 15. Point أَجَاز.— L. 18. The meter requires رَأَس (the verb, without *hamza*).—103, 13. Instead of جَبَاه, which fits neither meter nor sense, read بِجِبَاهٍ: "They appear with foreheads black from butting against the prayer-mats." The

immediate context makes the emendation certain.—**104**, 13. The name is
الـنُجْم .—; cf. 78, 5, etc.—**105**, 15. The meter requires بَخْتَر بن نصر ;
**108**, 9. Should not the last name in the line be مرزوق ? Cf. 127, 11;
131, 13; 139, 13.—**109**, 7. For آمنه وأمر read آمنه وآمن.—L. 19. For
قال read لا سكن لِأُسْكِنَ.—**110**, 1. Read إنّ.—L. 16. After the first
insert حدثنا.—**113**, 3. Read والقاسم.—**114**, 3. The text reading,
المسلمانىّ أذلّك , is the correct one; a mere neophyte.—**115**, 10. Read
and فأدفع.—**116**, 8. Read للعَبِر.—L. 9. Why change يُخاف ?—**119**, 3.
Read ففرشت.—L. 4. Read مَن in place of ممّن.—L. 9. Several
words, at least, are missing after احوانى.—L. 19. The reading of the
MS, لـه (not لكى), is correct. The editor has failed to notice that there
is a considerable gap in the text after this word.—**121**, 15. For إمّا read
أمّا.—**122**, 9. أنّ must *not* be changed to إنّ (see note).—**124**, 3. Read
الربيع ; see above, p. 185, note.—L. 12. Read تُجاهةً , "openly," "face
to face."—L. 13. Read ظاعِن , as in MS and Ibn Ḥajar.—**126**, 16. The
name is احمد بن محمد.—**127**, 17 f. There is a considerable gap here,
and the fact ought to be noticed that it comes just after the word اخبرنا
at the end of l. 17.—**128**, 1. حلقة ابن صبيح ought not to be in the
Index of Places, etc. (p. 211)!—L. 4. For يَوّمَ read بَرّمَ . The text of
this poem is not in very good shape.—L. 7. For فريقههم read رفيقههم .
—L. 11. For لبثت read لَبِثْتَ.—L. 12. For أيْنَ أبْنُ read إبن بن ,
as meter and sense require.—**133**, 14. Insert عند after وشهد.—L. 16.
The editor says: "Before ويقول something evidently is omitted!" I
cannot see, however, that anything is omitted; the text seems to me to
be just right as it stands.—**134**, 4. The text of this half-verse is in ter-
rible condition. For أمْ هُمْ (!) إبرهيم read ; "They will find out who
is to be deposed, *whether thou or they!*" For فاتهم الأكل read
ايّام is أيّام.—**135**, 5. Read باطلَها and الآمال and فَاتَتْهِم الأكل.—L. 5. Read
impossible. The original must have been either أمثال (as in Ibn Ḥajar),

"the *show-figures* with the tall hats and all those who approved them," or else أُثَام (feeling certainly ran high enough to justify the use of such a word).—L. 7. Read الجَمَال.—L. 8. Read يتفرّغون and قطعة.—L. 10. Read لَم يُذعَم.—L. 12. Read مقفر.—**137,** 1. Judging from what Gottheil says of the remaining traces in the MS, the missing words at the end of the line are إنّما هو, which makes good sense.—L. 2. Insert بيت before المال.—Ll. 9, 11. The verb is استقصى.—**138,** 11. For فيها read فيما.—L. 12. Cancel the words يزيد التركيّ ! The clause is conflate, and the other name is the right one.—L. 13. For صوت read سوط.—**140,** 5. Only *the name* is missing; and that is given (in corrupt form?) in 141, 5.—L. 8. Read حوط.—**142,** 11. The reading of the MS (to be pointed وضَرْبَك) is the correct one, and there should be no question of changing it.—Read مقعدًا.—**144,** 7. Read سُقطَ, with Ibn Ḥajar. This is the oft-quoted phrase from the Koran, VII, 148.—**145,** 19. At the point where the period stands, in this line, something has been lost from the text. *The words* وذكر الفضل بن مروان *are a part of the quoted words of the letter*, and not by any means those with which the quotation originally began. That the gap is very old, and the resulting mutilated text very misleading, may be seen from Ibn Ḥajar (quoted in Gottheil's note), whose text speaks of "the letter of al-Faḍl ibn Marwān to the *amīr* of Egypt." But al-Faḍl (the *wazīr* of al-Muʿtaṣim) did not write the letter! There can be no doubt whatever on this point, in view of 146, 3, with the context immediately preceding, and the explicit statement in 146, 14 that Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥaṣīb was the one who wrote it. The omitted passage can hardly have been less than two lines in extent, and may have been more.—**146,** 1. The *hamza* should of course be deleted in بالإنحراف. The volume contains a good many other instances of this same wrong use, for which the blame is probably to be put upon the printer and the proofreaders.—L. 2. Read وإنّ.— البيك is correct.—L. 5. Read بدار علّى ?—L. 13. The unpointed word which Gottheil punctuates وآتيه is the imperative وأنتَه. The suffix in البِه and عنده refers to the ما أمر به of the preceding line.— L. 19. Read للسهل.—**147,** 19. The original text of the beginning of the letter, in this recension, was probably: أيّها القاضى بلغ امير

المُوَّمنين أَنّ كتَابك وصل الخ . Ibn Ḥajar gives a somewhat free reproduction here.—**148,** 1, 2. These two lines are in bad shape. Is it not possible to read the words which are indistinct in the MS? As for what is printed here: In the first line, فيها should be مِمّا, and بأَمر is probably wrong. In the second line, it would seem better to read استيفاقًا , فيها, and بها.—**151,** 2. This *kunya* is made into an *ism* in the Index, and the man who bore it is also confused there with the Abu 'Ubaid who is mentioned in 152, 9 ff., 15 ff. The latter does not appear in the Index at all.—**153,** 15. Al-Warrāda is the name of a place on the road from Syria to Egypt. Add it to the Index, accordingly.—**154,** 6. The text should not be altered (see note); it is right as it stands.— L. 8. Read على in place of the first بن.—L. 17. It is not easy to see why this name, al-Mādarā'ī, should have made so much trouble. Gottheil himself printed it correctly in the *Journal of the Am. Or. Society*, XXVII (1906), p. 238!—**155,** 1. In the Index, this Ibn Qutaiba is wrongly identified with the one named on pp. 148 f.—**157,** 6 ff. As the poem is printed here, only the third line is comprehensible; the second and fourth lines are absolutely meaningless, besides being metrically impossible.—L. 6. For التائبه read النابه . This poem is laudatory throughout, not sarcastic.—L. 7. Instead of والمسقّع النبيه read والمُسْتَقيم , السَبيل ; "One who pursued a straight course, save for the cliffs and the sand-wastes which were in it"; that is, as straight and even as any path can be which must encounter impassable deserts and mountains.—L. 9. In the first half-verse read قَدْحًا instead of فرجا . In the second half-verse there is one word too many. The original was probably وِزْر ووِزْرُه , من يليه , which fits the meter exactly. Under the influence of the parallelism of the first half-verse, the verb was introduced by some copyist. But no verb in the second person singular is metrically possible here. The whole verse: "Thou didst permit slander (of thyself) to him who wished it; but its burden was borne by him who perpetrated it."—**158,** 11. For الصبرفى read الصبرفّى .—**159,** 8. Read إنّ .—L. 14. Read يحضره .—**160,** 16. For عمر read كمبل .—**161,** 7. The *nisba* added to the name Abu Ṭāhir in the margin of the MS (see note) is not الرملّى but الذُهلّى ; thus in Ibn Ḥallikān, as well as in the *Ḥusn*, and elsewhere.—**162,** 9. For the second "Muḥammad" read "Aḥmad."— **163,** 6. For أُخت read احمد .—L. 8. The words ساء فى الخامس do

not appear to belong to the text at all, but look like a marginal note on some corrupt reading (in one of the parent MSS?).—**165**, 4. For الـدّوابة read الـدّوابة. This gives the answer to Gottheil's query in this same line, where he thinks that the name of a fixed star is given. It is a comet that is described!—L. 7. For كثير احدهما read كثيرة احد ممّا.— L. 10. For للطفلة read الطفلة.

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## ASSYRIAN IDEOGRAMS[1]

In *Babyloniaca* II, III, I have reviewed the first four parts of Meissner's *Seltene assyrische Ideogramme*. The entire work in nine parts has now been completed. The entries number 9,380, most of which are additions to the 14,487 entries of the original list of Brünnow. Meissner, following the scheme of his predecessor, adds a large number of ideograms whose first sign or signs are illegible in the known texts. This section contains 413 entries. He adds 1,728 corrections and additions which he obtained from various sources. In one respect his book presents a great improvement on Brünnow, in that he has given the Assyrian words found in his book in compact form in Latin transcription. The Sumerian values follow in transcription with no attempt to divide them into (1) sign-names, (2) phonetic values, and (3) Semitic values. As he paid little attention to sign-names in his book it is of course rare that he has catalogued any at all, except in case of simple signs whose major phonetic value is identical with the sign-name plus the Semitic desinence added by the scribes. So in entering BUR (  ), whose sign-name is

bū r u, both name and phonetic value appear in the list. When, however, a sign enters into a compound, its phonetic value can be often obtained by analyzing the compound. For instance, we would not know the word NUMUN for seed (  ), Semitic zē r u, but for the sign-name of

 = NUMUN EŠ-GUNU-KI-KI (*CT*, XI, 49, 31) = Kullaba, Hallab. The word NUMUN, seed, offspring, beginning, occurs often, and occasionally spelled out NU-MU-UN; besides the citations in *Babyloniaca* III, 147, see Gudea Cyl. B, 13, 6, 9; 23, 6 f. This value does not appear either in his "Nachträge" or in his list of phonetic values.[2] In K 4174,
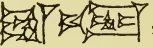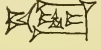
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[1] Meissner, Bruno, SELTENE ASSYRISCHE IDEOGRAMME, Assyriologische Bibliothek, Vol. XX, in nine parts, xx + 721 pp. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.

[2] See also *Babyloniaca* III, 148, No. 1,146[1].

col. I 5 (*CT*, XI, 45) the sign [cuneiform] appears as DU-NU in the name of the group ŠAM-DU-NU MINABI-ŠE-A-NISIGŪ, which gives a dialectic value DUN for DUL, the ordinary root for katāmu, to cover: for DUN = katāmu see IV R, 10b, 29, DŪN-ÁM = katma (given by me in *Babyloniaca* III, 155, and not registered by Meissner), and for *l* > *n* as partial dental assimilation, cf. ṬUN = šuplu cavity, with ṬUL = šuplu (Nos. 7,803 and 9,176).

According to *CT*, XI, 47b, 15, the sign [cuneiform] has the value *si-ig*, transcribed by Meissner himself No. 1,675, but the value does not appear for this sign in his list.

Occasionally the Sumerian forms are misunderstood; for instance, the three cases cited under No. 3,214 are every one of them wrong, the word in Sumerian for mu'uru in each case is [cuneiform], a form explained in *Babyloniaca* II, 78. The author still fails to correct Brünnow No. 4,741 where [cuneiform] is given the value lū; the phrase in IV R. 10b 33 should be read AGGI GĔ-IN-ĠUL = lū uḳallil and AGGI GĔ-IN-ŠÁG = lū udammiḳ. The verbs are compounds AGGI-ĠUL and AGGI-ŠÁG.

The work has already been characterized by me in *Babyloniaca* II, 199 ff., as of great importance in the history of Assyriology, and I have only to reiterate the same statement here. For those who have not had time to collect the material, both Brünnow's and Meissner's books will be indispensable; even the specialist will learn much from them. Both books are, however, the work of compilers who have not penetrated the more difficult problems of Sumerian etymology and syntax. The subject has already advanced considerably beyond the work of compilation, although specialists must feel greatly indebted to such works.

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## THE FIFTEENTH EDITION OF "BUHL–GESENIUS HEBREW LEXICON"[1]

The fourteenth edition appeared in 1905, just five years ago. It contained 948 pages. This fifteenth edition is 75 pages larger, in spite of the use of many abbreviations of terms fully written out in the earlier edition. The former staff of editors, viz., Professors Buhl and Zimmern, has been increased on the title-page by the addition of Dr. W. Max Müller on Egyptian material, and Dr. O. Weber on South Arabian words.

[1] WILHELM GESENIUS' HEBRÄISCHES UND ARAMÄISCHES HANDWÖRTERBUCH ÜBER DAS ALTE TESTAMENT. In Verbindung mit Professor H. Zimmern, Professor W. Max Müller u. Dr. O. Weber, bearbeitet von Dr. Frants Buhl. Leipzig: F. C. W. Vogel, 1910. XVII+1006 pages. M. 18.

The quarries from which the largest part of the new material has been taken are (1) the Jewish papyri found in Egypt within the last few years, (2) Brockelmann's *Vergleichende Grammatik*, (3) Smend's *Sirach-Texte*, and (4) Musil's *Arabia Petraea*. Pognon's important Aramaic inscriptions and Landberg's Datîna language have been referred to only in the "additions and corrections," covering ten pages.

The editors have laid under tribute the immense output during the last five years of literature touching the Old Testament. In the list of abbreviations alone we find thirty-nine titles of new works not in the list of the fourteenth edition. This of itself suggests the wide range of literature consulted and used to enrich this edition.

The Aramaic literature found in Egypt adds but three pages to the Aramaic vocabulary, yet it contains more than one hundred references to the published versions of those papyri. In a somewhat careful comparison of a list of words in the two editions, we discover how painstaking the editors were in eliminating references to works superseded, and in cutting out positions no longer tenable. Space has been saved in many ways for the insertion of new and valuable data. It would probably be true that fully one hundred pages of new material have been added to this last edition of this notable work.

Some features of the vocabulary of the Old Testament have received notable new light within five years. One of these is the list of Hebrew proper names. The Babylonian Expedition publications of the University of Pennsylvania have been a fruitful source of help, especially the work of Clay. For example, בְּעֶלְיָדָע (I Chron. 14:7) in *BE*, 10, 43: *Bêl-jâdaḥ;* בְּרִיעָה (I Chron. 8:13), *Baruḥa'* in *BE*, 10, 42. בְּרֹתָי (II Sam. 8:8) is identified by Clauss, *ZDPV*, 30, 13, with *Bêrûta, Berûna,* that is "Beirût." בְּנָיָהוּ (I Chron. 15:24) was compared with *Banâ' ili* in the fourteenth edition, but that form is now dropped out in favor of Clay's suggestion (*BE*, 10, 41) *Bana jâma.* בַּעַל־חָנָן (Gen. 36:38 f. and two other refs.) cf. Phoen. חנבעל and cuneif. *Ba'alḥanûnu,* a prince of Arwad. גִּנַּת is entirely rewritten; is now compared with *Gina* in the Amarna letters, *Qina* in the inscriptions of Thutmosis III, and *Genin* (= En-gannim of the Old Test.). הָרוֹשׁ is rewritten and almost doubled in length, due to the new light out of the Aramaic papyri from Egypt. יתר (Judg. 8:20) in old Babylonian appears as *Jatarum* (Ranke). שְׁנְהָבִים is rewritten in the fifteenth edition on the basis of Jensen's *Gilgamesh* and the Aramaic papyri from Elephantine. Jensen compares it with *Sin-a-ab-ba.*

The names of Babylonian-Assyrian divinities and terms describing worship are also illumined by late investigations, especially those of Jastrow, in his *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens.* Geographical

and ethnographical terms are also fuller and more satisfactory in this edition, due to the studies of Musil and Clauss. We are still, however, looking for light on many obscure words, such as עַוָּה , סִינִים , הַחֲוִילָה , etc.

The authors, as most students today, refer סִינַי to the moon-god Sin as a related form with some probable connection. The reviewer finds increasing difficulties with this view, and no direct evidence that the claim can be made good. Sin, the moon-god, is not referred to anywhere in the Old Testament, except in the Assyrian forms of some proper names, as Sanballat, Sennacherib, Sansanna (Josh. 15:31). The form סִין referring to the desert between Elim and Sinai is probably a different word, and not referring at all to the moon-god. Under יָרֵחַ it would have added interest to a study of the idea if reference could have been made to Nielsen, *Die altarabische Mondreligion*.

The new words in the Aramaic papyri from Egypt give some useful light on Hebrew words which occur once only or only a few times. Such a word is הָסַן II, confirmed by its occurrence in the papyri with the meaning "shut in," "preserve." In the Aramaic vocabulary at the end of the book there are more than one hundred references to those important documents, and references, too, that give material aid to a better understanding of the Aramaic of the Old Testament. Some of the peculiar hybrid forms of the biblical Aramaic are made all the more conspicuous. That unique form לֶהֱוֵה for the imperfect of הֲוָה appears in these papyri as יִהְוֵה, a perfectly regular formation. Other words exhibit further regularities in the light of these papyri.

We heartily welcome a lexicon that has been so fully brought down to date, and that gives at the same time so full references to the new literature on the questions raised. The editors deserve our best thanks for the completion of this new edition.

IRA MAURICE PRICE

## CRITICAL NOTES ON MICAH

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The Book of Micah consists of two parts: chapters **1–3** and **4–7**. The first three chapters contain three patriotic poems composed by the Judaic poet Micah of Mareshah (cf. note on א, *a*)[1] about 701 B.C. The last four chapters are Maccabean, and a Maccabean hymn celebrating John Hyrcanus' destruction of Samaria (about 107 B.C.) is prefixed to the genuine prophecies of Micah at the beginning of the Book.[2] Also a gloss to one of the Maccabean poems in the last four chapters is found in the first three chapters, *viz.* **2**, 12. On the other hand, the section **4**, 9–14 contains some glosses to the third genuine poem of Micah.

Only $33\frac{1}{2}$ lines[3] in the first three chapters are genuine; the majority of the verses represent subsequent additions, explanatory glosses, variants, illustrative quotations, &c.

The first poem of Micah (א) consists of two stanzas; each stanza is composed of two couplets with 3 + 3 beats in each line.—

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[1] These Hebrew letters refer to the ten sections of the Hebrew text at the end of the article. The Greek letters after the Hebrew characters indicate glosses. The index to chapters and verses of the received text with corresponding sections, stanzas, and glosses in the present edition is given on p. 242.

[2] Cf. my remarks on the introductory Maccabean psalm prefixed to the Book of Nahum in Haupt, *The Book of Nahum* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1907) p. 8 and ZDMG **61**, 278.

[3] For *lines* (מֹשְלִים) in Hebrew poetry see AJSL **19**, 137, n. 15; 194, n. **.

The second poem of Micah (ב) consists of three stanzas; each of these stanzas is composed of two couplets with 2 + 2 beats in each line.—The third poem (ג) consists of two stanzas; each stanza is composed of three couplets with 3 + 2 beats in each line.[4]—In addition to these three genuine poems (א, ב, ג)[1] we have a genuine fragment (ד) of 1½ lines with 3 + 3 beats. This is a subsequent insertion derived from Jer. **26,** 18.

The second part (chapters **4–7**) contains five Maccabean poems, and, as stated above, a sixth Maccabean poem appears in the traditional text at the beginning of the Book. The first of these Maccabean poems (ה) consists of two stanzas; each stanza is composed of three couplets with 3 + 3 beats in each line.—The second Maccabean poem (ו) consists of three stanzas; each stanza is composed of three couplets with 3 + 3 beats.—Also the third Maccabean poem (ז) consists of three stanzas; but each stanza is composed of two couplets with 3 + 2 beats in each line.—The fourth Maccabean poem (ח) consists of two stanzas, and each stanza is composed of four triplets with 3 + 3 beats in each line. This is the only poem with triplets; all the other poems in the Book are written in couplets.—The fifth Maccabean poem (ט) consists of three couplets with 3 + 3 beats in each line.—Also the sixth Maccabean poem (י) consists of three couplets with 3 + 3 beats in each line.[5] This last poem is a late Essenian psalm.

Lines with 3 + 3 beats are found in seven of the ten poems, 3 + 2 in two of them, and 2 + 2 in one.[6] Glosses with 2 + 2 beats in each line are found in א, δ; ב, aa; ג, v. εε; ה, μ; ו, γ; ח, δ. The majority of the metrical glosses have 3 + 3 beats in each line.

[4] Cf. for this meter Haupt, *Biblische Liebeslieder* (Leipzig, 1907) p. xliii, n. † and my paper *The Religion of the Hebrew Prophets* in the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* (Oxford, 1908) vol. i, p. 270. See also the remarks on the anapestic pentameter in Browning's *Saul* on p. 25 of J. W. Bright and R. D. Miller, *The Elements of English Versification*, Boston and London (Ginn & Co.), 1910; also AJSL **21**, 135, below.

[5] Contrast the metrical arrangement of the Book of Micah in Ed. Sievers' *Alttestamentliche Miscellen* 6–10 (Leipzig, 1907) pp. 76–109 (*Berichte der philologisch-historischen Klasse der Kgl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, vol. lix) and Kautzsch's HSAT **2**, 46–57; also Duhm, *Die Zwölf Propheten* (Tübingen, 1910) pp. 48–63 and pp. xxvi. xxxvi. Cf. also AJSL **24**, 187–208.

[6] For lines with 2+2 beats cf. my paper on *Moses' Song of Triumph* in AJSL **20**, 155. For lines with 3+3 beats cf. my restoration of Ps. **68** in AJSL **23**, 238.

Non-metrical glosses, in prose, are, *e.g.* א , *a. η.* ξξ; ב , *λ. ρ. σ. aa*; ג, *ν* (vv. 11. 12) and *π. ρ. ψ.* ζζ. *ηη*; ה , *a. δ. ε*; ו , *η*; ה , *a. ι. λ. ρ. i;*[7] ט , *λλ.* Combinations of couplets with $3+3$ and $2+2$ beats[8] are found in א , *δ* and ו , *γ.*

Words with two beats are הַבָּמְתָעֲבִים and וִירוּשָׁלֵם (א , i).[9]—מִשְׁכְּבוֹתָם (*β. δ. λ*).—יִשְׂרָאֵל (א , *β. δ. λ*).—עַצְמוֹתֵיהֶם and עַצְבּוֹתָם (א , ii).—צַוְּארֹתֵיכֶם and תַּעֲנוּגֵיהֶן (ב , i).—עֹלְלֵיהֶן and הַמִּשְׁפָּחָה (ב , iv).—תַּצְלִי and כַּלֵּדָה (ג , v).—מִצְפּוֹתֵיהֶן (ג , iii).—בְּמִצְעֹתָם (ב , v).—שֶׁם־יִגְאָלֶךָ (ג , εε).—יִשְׂרָאֵל (ה , i).—בְּמִצְעֹתָם (ה , iii).—צְרוֹתֶיךָ (ו , v).—בְּצִדְקָתוֹ (ו , iv).—אֹיְבְתִּי (ו , vi).—הֶטֵּאתִךְ (ו , viii).—עֹנֹתֵנוּ (ז , iii).—מִמִּסְגְּרֹתֵיהֶם (ז , iv).—מִגְּבוּרֹתָם (ז , viii).—מִגְבָעוֹת (ז , vi).—הֶטֵּאתָם (ז , δ).—מִרְכְּבֹתֶיךָ (ה , iv).—מִגְבָעוֹת (ה , v).—הֲרַבֹּתֵיהֶם (ה , vi.)—מִירוּשָׁלֵם and בָּאֹרְהֹתָיו , מִדְרֹכָיו ,—and בַּאֲדַמְתֵנוּ (ה , θ).—תְּאֵנָתוֹ (ה , viii).—הֲנִיתֹתֵיהֶם (ה , vii).—הֶאֱקַדְמָנוּ (ה , δ).—יִשְׂרָאֵל (ט , ii).—יִתְבַּקְעוּ (ט , κ).—מִבְצָרֶךָ (ה , κ).—(י , i).

Collision of two beats in one hemistich is found in ה , ii. vi; ה , *δ* (**5, 1**) *bis;* ט , ii.[10] As a rule, this is avoided by recession of the accent.

We find recessive accent in שֹׂנְאֵי־טוֹב וְאֹהֲבֵי־רָע (א , δ).—הַחֲזִקוּ־הַיִל (ג , v).—עֹשְׂקוּ־גָבֶר (ב , ii).—הֹשְׁבֵי־אָוֶן (ב , i).—הָאִשָּׁה אֲצֵרוֹת־רֶשַׁע (ה , i).—מֹסְדֵי־אָרֶץ (ד , ii).—בְּמִת־יַעַר and (ו , v).—דְּבָרוֹר־שָׁקֶר (ה , ι).—כְּאַסְפֵּי־קָיֵץ (ו , i).—בְּמֹאזְנֵי־רֶשַׁע (ו , viii).—מִיּם־יָמָּה וּמֵהַר הָרָה (ו , iv).—אֶל־תִּשְׂמְחוּ אֹיַבְתִּי־לִי (ז , vii).—בִּימֵי־קֶדֶם (ו , γ).—מֵנֵבֶל־אָב (ו , ix).—פֹּעֲלֵי־אָוֶן (ה , iii).—בְּעֶדְרֵי־צֹאן and בְּבַהֲמוֹת־יַעַר (ז , δ).—בִּצְלֹוֹתֵיהֶם (ה , iv).—גֵּוֹי עַל־גּוֹי חֶרֶב לֹא־יִשָּׂא and וְלֹא־יִלְמְדוּן (ה , iv).—וּמְעֹנְנִים לֹא

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[7] The italicized letters (*a, b, c*, &c) after ה indicate tertiary glosses in the fourth Maccabean poem.

[8] Cf. my restoration of the Song of Lamech in *AJSL* **20**, 164 and David's Dirge on Saul and Jonathan in *JHUC*, No. 163, p. 55.

[9] The Roman figures after the Hebrew letters indicate the stanzas in the restoration of the Hebrew text at the end of this article. Cf. Haupt, *Biblische Liebeslieder* (Leipzig, 1907) p. 134; also *Nah.* 48.

[10] In all these cases there is a pause between the two beats; cf. Haupt, *Bibl. Liebes-lieder,* p. xv.

(ט, i). עַל־בָּמֳותֵי־אָרֶץ‎ —.(ח, δ) עַד־אַסְפֵּי־אָרֶץ‎ —.(ח, vii). עֹוד‎
—.(י, ii) בְּרִבְבֹות נַחֲלֵי שָׁמֶן‎

We have enclitics in אֶ־בֵּתִי־לִי and יהוה־אֹורִי־לִי (ו, iv).—
יְהִוָה־לָךְ (ח, iv).—.(ז, vi) חֶסֶד־הֹוא‎ —.(ו, γ) אֹיְבִי־אִישׁ‎
הַצְנֵעַ־לֶכֶת and הִגִּיד־לְךָ (ט, u).—.(ט, v) חַטָּאת־הִוא וּנְשָׂא־הוּא (ח, v).—
(י, iii).

Proclitics are found in שְׁאַר־עַמִּי (א, ε).—.(א, iv) לְבֶן־לָיְלָה
מִבֵּית־תַּעֲנֻגֶיהֶן (ב, iv).—.(ב, i) לָאֵל־יָדָם and הֹוי־חֹשְׁבֵי‎—
לֹו־אִישׁ (ב, aa).—.(ג, ν, v. 13) בַּת־צִיֹּון‎ —.(ד, ii) וְהַר־הַבָּיִת‎—
בֵּית־אַחְאָב (ה, iii).—.(ו, iv) יהוה־אֹורִי־לִי‎ —.(ו, vii) יֹום־הַהִוא‎
וּלְמִן־מָצֹר (ו, viii).—.(ו, γ) פִּתְחִי־פִיךְ‎ —.(ז, v) נְשֹׂא־עֹון‎—
אֲשֶׁר־לֹא (ח, iv).—.(ח, v) הַר־הַבָּיִת‎ —.(ח, δ) מִגְדַּל־עֵדֶר‎—
פְּרִי־בִטְנִי (י, ii).—.(י, iii) וּמַה־יהוה.

*Enjambement* occurs only in two lines, *viz.* in the first line of
א, iii, and the last line of ח, iii.

Cf. my remarks on Ps. **68** in AJSL **23**, 240.

The abbreviations employed in the following critical notes are ·
explained in vol. **24** of this JOURNAL, pp. 98–100; cf. also vol. **26,**
pp. 19. 20; ZDMG **63**, 530; ZAT **29**, 281, n. 5.   See also the
inside pages of the front covers in SBOT and the list of abbrevia-
tions appended to my paper *Micah's Capucinade* in vol. **29** of
the *Journal of Biblical Literature* (New York, 1910).   Note
especially E = Haupt, *The Assyrian E-vowel* (Baltimore, 1887).
—𝔊ᴹ = *Codex Marchalianus.*— EG = *Dillmann's Ethiopic Gram-
mar*, translated by J. A. Crichton (London, 1907).—RV =
Revised Version.—GJV = E. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen
Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, fourth edition (Leipzig, 1901–9).
—GB denotes the fifteenth edition (1910) of Gesenius' *Wör-
terbuch* edited by Buhl.—GK refers to the twenty-eighth edi-
tion (1909) of Gesenius' grammar edited by Kautzsch.—
R = T. Roorda, *Commentarius in Vaticinium Michae* (Leyden,
1869).—W = J. Wellhausen, *Die kleinen Propheten übersetzt
und erklärt* (Berlin, 1898).—N = W. Nowack, *Die kleinen
Propheten übersetzt und erklärt* (Göttingen, 1903).—M = Karl
Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton* (Tübingen, 1904).

## א

(i) הַמִּתַעֲבִים is vocative; for the article see GK § 126, f. ܣ has for הַגֹּזְלִים in ii رِسْهَبِ اندٖءٖ.

For בְּנֵה read בְּנֵי, following ᵹ οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες, ℨ *qui aedificatis*, ₵ דבנן, ܣ وَعُلـ. This is not a graphic, but a phonetic corruption; cf. notes on ב, σ (בהבל = וְחבל) and ג, iv (עֲמָדתו = חֲמָדתו) also ה, v; ז, ii (הַרְאֵנוּ = אֲרַאֶנּוּ) and *Nah.* 22 (בֹּאֵשׁ = יֹבֵשׁ). Contrast last but one note on ה, iii.

(ii) For גֹּזְלִי read הַגֹּזְלִים. The final ה of the preceding רֵעֵה must be prefixed to גֹּזְלִי, so R; cf. note on ו, iii (וְרִיבַבְתוֹ) and note on אֶפְרָת הַצָּעִיר instead of אֶפְרָתָה צָעִיר at the end of the notes on ה, δ. The plural הַגֹּזְלִים was written הַגֹּזְלִ'; cf. *Pur.* 52, 3; OLZ **10**, 306, l. 6; also notes on ב, iv; ג, iii; ה, iii.

שֶׁאֵרֵם should be read šêrám; see *Est.* 44 (6) and notes on ג, v (מֵאוּרֶשֶׁת = מוֹרֶשֶׁת).

Read וְאֶת-עַצְמֹתֵיהֶם, not וְאֶת-עַצְמֹתֵידֶם; וְאֶת was pronounced *weth;* cf. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.* § 33 and note on ב, i.

פִּצְּחוּ does not mean *they lay bare* (فَصَخَ) but *they smash, shatter* (فَضَخَ). ᵹ συνέθλασαν, ℨ *confregerunt*, ܣ ܩܨܨ. The gloss וּפָרְסוּ (misspelled וּפָרֵשׂוּ) *they cleave* (ᵹ ἐμέλισαν, ℨ *conciderunt*) is correct.

Cancel ו prefixed to כְּבַשֵׂר; it may be due to dittography of the preceding ר; cf. ZDMG **63**, 515, l. 19.

ℨ has *in medio ollae* for בְּתוֹךְ קַלַּחַת, but ᵹ εἰς χύτραν, ₵ לְגוֹ קִדְרָא; so, too, εἰς λέβητα, ₵ לְגוֹ דוּדָא for בַּסִּיר (ℨ *in lebete*, ܣ ܩܨܡ). For קִדְרָא = Assyr. *diqaru* see AJSL **23**, 247; cf. *Nah.* 37, below; 42, ‡. For בְּ = εἰς cf. GB 79ᵇ, l. 5; 179ᵃ, d; *Est.* 37, l. 10.

(iii) For the *enjambement* in the first line (3×2 instead of 2×3 beats) cf. second note on ה, iii.

For יִתֵּן עַל פִּיהֶם cf. Ex. **23**, 13; Pss. **16**, 4; **50**, 16; Eccl. **5**, 1; also Gen. **40**, 11. In Dan. **10**, 3 we must read וְיַיִן לֹא בָא עַל פִּי.

(iv) The alliteration in לָכֶן לַיְלָה לָכֶם is accidental; cf. AJSL **20**, 169, n. 52.

For the verbal form חָשְׁכָה (ܣ ܚܫܟ) read (with W, following ᵹ σκοτία, ℨ *tenebrae*) the noun חֲשֵׁכָה (cf. note on ב, σ) and for the inf. מִקְסֹם the pausal form מִקְסָם.

עָטוּ עַל שָׂפָם means *they put a cover over the mustache*. In the same way כָּסָה and סָכַךְ are construed with עַל. שָׂפָם is not haplography for שְׂפָמִם. The noun שָׂפָם (₵ סְפָם) is an old plural of the biconsonantal masculine form of שָׂפָה, *lip*, just as סֻלָּם, *ladder* is a plural of a noun *sull*, from סָלַל, *to raise;* cf. also note on עֲדֻלָּם in

ב, vi.  Similarly Arab. فَم, *mouth* (originally pâmi) is an old plural of pû; see AJSL **22**, 258; contrast VG 472.

(α) For הַמֹּרַשְׁתִּי (𝔊 τὸν τοῦ Μωρασθει) read (with R, following 𝔗 דִּמְרֵמְרְשָׁא, 𝔖 ܡܘܪܫܝܐ; in v. 15 ܡܘܪܫܐ = מֹרֶשָׁה) הַמֹּרַשְׁתִּי.  Also in Jer. **26**, 18 (cf. notes on ד) 𝔗 has בֵּיכָה דִּמְרֵמְרִישָׁא, 𝔖 ܡܘܪܫܐ ܡܢ ܒܝܟܐ. There is no city of מֹרֶשֶׁת or מֹרֶשֶׁת; cf. notes on ב, vi.  For the â in the first syllable of מֹרֶשָׁה see *Nah.* 19, below.  The ר in הַמֹּרַשְׁתִּי Jer. **26**, 18 may be due to dittography of the ד; cf. notes on הָאֵזוֹר (ב, *aa*) and מִצּוֹר (ב, λ).

For מַלְכֵי יְהוּדָה read מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה; cf. last note on ב, v.

(β) Cf. the introductory gloss ה, *a.*

(γ) For עַל יְהוָה read עֲלֵי יְהוָה; cf. AJSL **19**, 133, below, and notes on μ and ב, vi (עֲדֵי עֹלָם).

(δ) Cf. β.  For the couplet with 2+2 beats after a line with 3+3 beats cf. ו, γ.

For רֵעָה read רֵע; cf. notes on ii.

(ζ) For פַּרְשׁוּ read פַּרְסוּ; cf. notes on ii and ז, vi (יְכַבֵּשׁ for יִכְבַּס). Contrast notes on ב, *aa* (יֶסֶג for יַשֹּׂג) and ו, iii (מְשׂוּכָה for מְסוּכָה). See also fourth note on ה, θ.  It is not necessary to read וּפְרֵסֶֽם.

For כַּאֲשֶׁר read כִּשְׁאָר, following 𝔊 ὡς σάρκας.

(η) This is a gloss; the prophet speaks in stanza β, not JHVH; cf. note on ב, v.

(κ) We must not read (with 𝔊𝔖 ܠܟܘܢ, ܟܡܐ ܟܢܐ ܥܡ, قَد (ܥܒܕܠܟ) the participle מֵעֲנֶה instead of the noun מַעֲנֶה (𝔍 *responsum Dei*).

(λ) For אֻלָם (which is found in 18 passages, half of which are in Job) we had better read אֵילָם; cf. note on ב, i and *Kings* 85, 7.  Heb. אֻלָם = Assyr. ellamu (HW 32) is not a case like נָא = Assyr. Ni'; cf. *Est.* 7.  See also note on חֻלִּי in ב, v.

(μ) For אָז יִזְעָקוּ read אָזַי יִזְעָקוּ (haplography).  Cf. note on γ. Read יַסְתֵּר for יַסְתֵּר, which is not a *rhythmical jussive* (GK § 109, k) but an Aramaism (contrast GK § 53, n, end).  Cf. note on ב, δδ.

= (اعلمت) شَفِّت ܥܒܕܝܗܘܢ, 𝔖 ܥܡܗ, 𝔗) אַבְאִישׁוּ עוֹבָדֵיהוֹן (𝔗 הֵרֵעוּ מַעַלְלֵיהֶם השחיתו עלילותם or השחיתו דרכם.

(oo) 𝔊 + ταῦτα also in δ; so, too, 𝔖.

(ππ) This is repeated from the second hemistich; cf. note on ה, q. 𝔊 + οἶκος also in δ; so, too, 𝔖.

(ρρ) Cf. ה, ν and BL 40, n. 13.

### ב

(i) אוֹר = Assyr. urru, *i.e.* ûru (HW 34) *daylight, daytime, day;* cf. *Kings* 104, 32.

לָאֵל was pronounced *lel;* cf. notes on א, ii.  𝔗 חֵילָא, but 𝔊 πρὸς

τὸν θεόν, ℨ *contra Deum*, ܫ ܠܟܠܐ ܙܥܐ، ܐܬܡܗܝܐ ܥܟܘܥܬܐ܂  For the ety-
mology of אֵל cf. OLZ **12**, 214, n. 13.

(ii) For the difference between גָּזַל and קָבַע see AJSL **26**, 6, below.

For בָּתִּים see AJSL **22**, 258, below; *Nah.* 20, l. 4.  GK²⁸, p. 96, n. 2
seems to doubt my explanation that bêt = bât; but cf. רֵאשִׁית,
הֲבֵאת, נִמְצֵאת, &c.

(iii) For וְאֶתְבְּמוּל עַמִּי (𝔊 καὶ ἔμπροσθεν ὁ λαός μου) read (with WN)
וְאַתֶּם עַל עַמִּי; the ו of אֶתְבְּמוּל (ܫ ܐܟܘܟܬܐ) is a corruption of עָ.  The
corruption to אֶתְבְּמוּל was favored by מִמּוּל at the beginning of the
following line.

For יְקוּמֵם we must read תִּתְקוֹמְמִין.

שֶׁלְמָה must be pointed שֻׁלְמָה; 𝔊 has κατέναντι τῆς εἰρήνης αὐτοῦ, cf.
εἰς ἔχθραν = לְאוֹיֵב (η).  ܫ ܠܟܘܟܟܠܐ.  For שֻׁלְמָה see my expla-
nation of Am. 1, 6 in OLZ **10**, 308.

For אֶדֶר (𝔊 τὴν δοράν, ܫ ܥܟܟܘܐ; see ZAT **30**, 64 and cf. שֵׂעָר,
Gen. 25, 25; Zech. 13, 4) read the plural אֲדָרֹת; the omission of the ת
is due to haplography; cf. last but one note on ג, ii.  J. D. Michaelis
(1782) translated: *pelt.*  אֶדֶרֶת denotes originally *camel's hair;* cf. Mark
1, 6; Matt. 3, 4 (ἔνδυμα ἀπὸ τριχῶν καμήλου).  It is connected with Assyr.
udru, *camel* (HW 30ᵃ).  This may be identical with עֵדֶר, *herd;* in
that case אֶדֶרֶת would be an Assyr. loanword; cf. the remarks on אֲלֹל
= غلول in the notes on ו, i and ܙܥܟܐ, *herd* = רְבָכִים, مكة in *Est.* 62
(see also AJSL **26**, 2).  Assyr. udrê (or udrâti) denotes originally
*droves of camels.*  In Arabic, غلل has the privative sense *to be
unherded,* i.e. *to be separated from the herd,* * to lag behind; cf. first
note on ה, i and the remarks on פְּצִירָה in the note on ה, vii; also
footnote to י, γ.

(iv) For (עַמִּי) נְשֵׁי read נָשַׁי.

For תַּעֲנֻגֶיהָ read תַּעֲנֻגֶידְן; this was probably written תַּעֲנֻגֶיהָ׳; cf.
notes on *aa* (בְּמַעֲלֹלֵיהֶם) and א, ii.  𝔗 ܥܟܐ ܥܟܠ، ܫ ܙܥܐ ܥܟ، מִבֵּית הַדְּווֹתֵיהוּן
ܥܟܘܠܟܬܥܐ.  We may read also תַּעֲנֻגֵיהֶם; cf. third note on ג, iii, and
*Kings* 171, 13.  The omission of the final ם may be due to haplography.
J. D. Michaelis (1782) rightly referred בֵית־תַּעֲנֻגֵיהֶם to the harems;
cf. *Kings* 161, 47.

In the same way we must read עֹלְלֵיהֶם (or עֹלְלֵידְן, ܫ ܥܟܠܟܬܥܐ)
for עֹלְלֶיהָ.  𝔊 has in both cases αὐτῶν.

הֲדָרִי, *my glory* (ܫ ܙܥܟܟܐ) is a corruption of הֹרֹתִי, *my mothers.*
For the confusion of ר and ד, ת and ר cf. note on ω and fifth note on

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*For ﺷ غلل = שׁה אָבַד (Ps. 119, 176) cf. the variant in Bab. Ḳam. 11ᵃ (BT 6, 34,
n. 222), עֲדוּרָה which is said (Tosaph.) to mean *missing.*

בּ, ii; also AJSL **24**, 105; **26**, 10. We find ת = ר *e.g.* in יתח = Ιεθερ
(IN 342, 9). Cf. notes on ζ and ω; בּ, vi (עד עולם) and ה, iv (מועד
הָעִיר). For 𝔊 ὄρεσιν = הָדְרֵי cf. Ps. **110**, 3 (JHUC, No. 114, p. 110;
AJSL **21**, 145, n. 43) where Σ, ἐν ὄρεσιν ἁγίοις = קֹדֶשׁ בְּהַדְרֵי .

(v) For הִנְנִי (𝔖 ܐܘ) read הִנֵּה; cf. note on π. The prophet
speaks, not Jнvн. In the same way the prophet speaks in stanza β of
א; א, η is a gloss. Cf. note on ι.

(vi) For יִשָּׂא מָשָׁל (𝔖 ܐܡܕ) see *Numbers* 57, 8;
יִשָּׂא (𝔊 λημφθήσεται) is impersonal; see *Est.* 33; cf. notes on ω and γγ;
בּ, λ (שֹׁם).

נְהִיָה, which has passed into Greek as νηνία (Lat. *nenia*) for *nehyâ*,
is a feminine form of נְהִי; cf. שְׁבִיָּה = שְׁבִי . The preceding נְהִי is a
(gratuitous) correction, and נְהִיָה an undeleted corrigendum; cf. note
on בּ, η and the remarks on גּוּבֵי רֹב *Nah.* 35. 𝔊 θρηνηθήσεται θρῆνος
ἐν μέλει regarded נְהִיָה as fem. of נְהִי; so, too, 𝔖 ܢܘܠ ܕܐܡܣ . 
For נָשַׁדֻּנּוּ read נָשַׁדֹּנּוּ; for the ô cf. *Est.* 38, 4; GK § 67, e, n. 1.

(β) 𝔊 has for בָּאוֹר הַבֹּקֶר the free rendering ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, 𝔖 ܟܕ . 
(γ) וְנִשָּׂאוּ is a misplaced gloss to וְגָזְלוּ; cf. notes on ε and ר, ε. ζ.
(δ) ר before בָּתִּים is due to dittography. Cf. also ה, β. 𝔊 + τοὺς
ὀρφανούς after διήρπασον = וְגָזְלוּ . 𝔊 has διήρπασον also for וְעָשְׁקוּ .
(ε) אִישׁ is a misplaced gloss on גֶּבֶר; cf. note on γ. For misplaced
glosses see *Nah.* 22, below.
(ζ) ר before בֵּיתוֹ is dittography of the preceding ר; cf. notes on iv
(הָדְרֵי) and ω.
(η) The ל before אֹיֵב (𝔊 εἰς ἔχθραν) must be canceled; cf. note on
ר, δ. It can hardly be the emphatic ל; cf. the last note on aa. We
might say בָּאֹיֵב; cf. *Numbers* 57, 46.
(θ) For שׁוֹבֵר (𝔊 συντριμμόν) read (with WNM) שֶׁבֶר = שָׁלַל; cf. 2 Chr.
**21**, 17 and OLZ **10**, 308. For the erroneous insertion of the *mater lec-
tionis* cf. *Nah.* 27, l. 6; 46, below. The ר should be appended to
תְּקוֹמֵמוּ = יְקוֹמֵם; see iii. 𝔊 seems to have read שְׁבוּר; cf. Ps. **147**, 3.
(ι) The glossator who added עַמִּי to נֶשִׁי referred the suffix of the
first person to Jнvн; contrast note on v.
(ξ) חֶבֶל appears in 𝔐 between מַשְׁלִיךְ and (בְּ)גוֹרָל in v. 5.
(π) For אֵיךְ יָמִישׁ לִי (𝔍 *quomodo recedit a me*) we must read אֵיךְ
יָמִישׁ לוֹ; cf. notes on v and ω; בּ, i. iv. ψ. יָמִישׁ is impersonal; cf.
notes on בּ, λ (שֹׁם). For לוֹ see GK § 119, s; Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.* § 224;
cf. note on בּ, iv. This gloss appears in 𝔐 before (לְשׁוֹבֵב) שָׂדֵינוּ יְחַלֵּק
at the end of v. 4.
(ρ) רוּמָה is accusative of direction of רוּם, *height, high place* (Syr.
ܪܘܡܐ). *To go to a high place* (מְשׁוֹגֵב) is a proverbial phrase for *to
escape, to save one's self;* cf. שׁוֹגֵב *to save* (not *to protect*) e.g. Ps. **59**, 2,

lit. *to put in a high place.* In Assyrian we often find ana šûzub napšâtišu êli, *he ran away* (lit. *ascended*) *to save his life;* cf. HW 61ᵇ. 62. *Flood* is used for *calamity* (אֵד = אֵד; cf. OLZ **12**, 69, n. 11 and طوفان, *Flood, calamity, plague* = ܛܘ̈ܦܢܐ) and *high place* = *place of safety;* cf. Ps. **40**, 3. In Arab. لا يُرام, lâ iurâmu (the place) *is impregnable,* this verb has the opposite meaning; cf. footnote to ד, γ. The name רְאֵם, which comes from an allied stem, means *climber;* cf. HW 603ᵃ. The original form is ra'im; this became ri'm, just as we have nimr instead of namir, *panther;* cf. VG § 124, a; *Nah.* 21, below.

The Versions did not understand this proverbial phrase: 𝔊 καὶ οὐ μὴ πορευθῆτε ὀρθοὶ ἐξαίφνης (𝔊 has also καὶ ὀρθοὶ πεπόρευνται for הָישׁר הֹלֵךְ at the end of v. 7). 𝔍 *et non ambulatis superbi;* 𝕿 וְלֹא תְהַכִין בְּקוֹמְּה ܘܠܐ ܬܗܠܟܘܢ ܚܬܝܪܐܝܬ ܒܩܘܡܬܐ, 𝔖 זְקוּפָא.

The clause כִּי עֵת רָעָה הִיא (cf. Am. **5**, 13) might have been relegated to the tertiary glosses; so, too, שְׁבִי מִלְחָמָה in θ; also ξ. Cf. second note on *aa.*

(σ) For the verbal form טָמְאָה we must read the noun טֻמְאָה (𝔊 ἀκαθαρσία, 𝔍 *immunditia,* 𝔖 ܛܐܡܘܬܐ).

For תְחַבֵּל read תְּחַבְּלוּ (𝔊 διεφθάρητε φθορᾷ). The omission of the final ו is due to haplography. This חֵבֵל, *to ensnare,* is a denominative verb, derived from חֵבֶל, *snare;* cf. Smend's rendering of Sir. **34**, 6; see R. Smend, *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach* (Berlin, 1906) pp. 53. 67. 24. Syr. ܚܒܠ ܡܚܒܠܐ ܚܒܠܗ ܒܚܒܠܐ does not mean *he destroyed the destroyer with his own noose,* but *he ensnared the ensnarer with his own snare.* This would be in Assyrian xâbila ina naxbališu ixbil. Assyrian is but an older local variety of Aramaic; see *Judges* 66, 3. Cf. חֵבֹל. Heb. حبل الصيد اذا اخذه بالحبالة او نصبه له , *pledge* = Assyr. xubullu is derived from the same stem. We have a ح in Arabic and Ethiopic instead of the Assyr. خ, because the Arabic and Ethiopic forms are Aramaic loanwords; cf. KAT 649. The Western Syrians pronounced every ח as ح. Similarly we have فلح (with ح) = Syr. ܦܠܚ (*to till* the ground and *to worship* God) = Assyr. palâxu, *to fear* (originally *colere*) and مَلّاح, mallâḫ, *sailor* = Assyr. mallâxu (Sum. ma-laḡ). Cf. KAT², 513. 509.

For וְחֵבֹל we must read בְּחֵבֹל (cf. first note on *aa* and note on ד, β). This is not a graphic, but a phonetic corruption; cf. note on א, i (בְּנִי = בְּנֹה).

חֵבֹל נִמְרָץ (𝔍 *putredine pessima*) has about the same meaning as מְצוּדָה רָעָה Eccl. **9**, 12. נִמְרָץ is connected with Assyr. marçu

*sick, ill* (Arab. مَرِيض, Syr. ܡܪܥܐ), and means *painful, baneful, per-nicious, deleterious;* also *troublesome, trying, grievous.* The two stems marâçu, *to be troublesome,* and marâçu, *to be sick* (HW 426) are, of course, identical (cf. AJSL **20**, 167, n. 39). We often use *trouble* for *disease.*

(χ) For אָמִיר read וְאָמַר or לֵאמָר.

(ψ) לְשׁוֹבֵב is a corruption of לְשׁוֹבְבֵינוּ (cf. Ps. **137**, 3; OLZ **10**, 65). It may have been written *defective:* לְשׁבְנוּ. The נ was corrupted to ב (contrast second note on נ, ii) and the final ו was transposed.

(ω) For יְמָיֵר (ℑ *pars populi mei commutata est*) read יָמֹד, incor-rect *scriptio plena* of יָמֹד from מָדַד (𝔊 μερὶς λαοῦ μου κατεμετρήθη ἐν σχοινίῳ, cf. gloss ξ). For the confusion of ׳, ו, ר, ד see last note on iv. For ׳ = ו cf. note on π. For the passive in 𝔊 κατεμετρήθη (𝔖 ܢܬܦܠܓ) instead of the impersonal יָמֹד cf. note on vi.

(αα) For חֶבֶל between גּוֹרָל מַשְׁלִיךְ (cf. Josh. **18**, 10) see ξ. The ב before גּוֹרָל (𝔊 βάλλων σχοινίον ἐν κλήρῳ) must be canceled. On the other hand, we must prefix ב to חֶבֶל in σ. The ב before גּוֹרָל may be due to the ב before the following קָהָל; cf. note on ββ.

V. 6 might be given as a tertiary gloss, and v. 7 as a quaternary addition, and v. 11 may be post-quaternary; cf. last note on ρ.

W is right in stating that v. 7 is a protest against the threat (con-tained in vv. 3. 4) that Judah will perish.

For לָאֵלֶּה (𝔊 ἐπὶ τούτοις, 𝔖 ܠܗܠܝܢ ܟܠ) read כְּאֵלֶּה; cf. Job **16**, 2. For (כְּלִמּוֹת) יֵסַג (𝔊 οὐ γὰρ ἀπώσεται ὀνείδη) read יָשֹׂג (𝔖 عَلَىٰ لُؤْصِعِ, ℑ *non comprehendet confusio*). Cf. note on בִּסוֹכָה in ר, iii. הִשִּׂיג means originally *to make connection = to join* or *meet, attain to, encounter.* Chaucer uses *attain* in the sense of *experience;* cf. our colloquial phrase *to catch it.* Arab. وصل, means *to join, connect* (لِلام) and *to reach, arrive at* (البَيْت وَانْتَهَىٰ). Arab. التَّكَق means *to be annexed, affiliated,* whereas the first form means *to overtake* (ادرك). הִשִּׂיג is derived from יָשֹׂג (GK § 71) = وَشِج, *to be intertwined, interlaced, allied, connected.* In Ethiopic ነሽወ፡ means *to fasten with a bolt.* Similarly Assyr. šigâru, *bolt, lock, cage,* which appears in Ez. **19**, 9 as סִיגַר, misspelled סוֹגַר, is connected with שׁוֹרֵק, *to inter-twine, interlace;* Arab. شَجَر, *tree, shrub,* is a transposition of this stem. For the initial *n* in ነሽወ፡ instead of the initial *w* in وَشِج cf. Assyr. inçabtu (HW 477[a]) = ዐጽብ፡ *ear-ring* and GK § 77, c; AJSL **24**, 243, below. In Assyrian, ašagu (for uašagu) denotes a *thorny shrub* (HW 142[a]). The original meaning is סִיר סְבֹךְ; see *Nah.* 22. The *k* in

*For ܠܘܨܥ cf. footnote to ר, γ.

Arab. شَوْك, šauk, *thorn*, Heb. מְשׂוּכָה (cf. last note on ר, iii) is due
to partial assimilation of the original *g* to the initial *š;* cf. *Nah.* 32, l. 4.
The names שׂוֹבֵךְ and شَوْبَك (ZDMG **63**, 508, l. 2) both mean *thicket;*
cf. שׂוֹבֵךְ 2 S **18**, 9. For the final *ô* in שׂוֹבֵךְ cf. שֵׁלֹה = שִׁילוֹן, from
a stem שֵׁיל = שְׁלִי, *to be secure;* also בֵּית־שְׁאָן means *security;* cf.
OLZ **12**, 247, n. 9.

The Hebrew says *I shall come upon disgrace* instead of *disgrace
will come upon me;* on the other hand, we find in Hebrew: *trouble
finds him* instead of *he finds trouble;* cf. e.g. Ps. **119**, 143; **116**, 2; also
1 K **13**, 24 (וַיִּמְצָאֵהוּ אַרְיֵה בַדֶּרֶךְ) and Ps. **132**, 6, where מְצָאנוּהָ, *we
found it* means *it* (the report) *reached us* (AJSL **12**, 95). Contrast
Arab. وَصَلَهُ مَكْتُوبٌ, *a letter reached him = he received a letter.*

בֵּית יַעֲקֹב at the beginning of v. 7 must be inserted at the end of
v. 6, and instead of הֶאָמוּר we must read הַאֹמַר, *shall I say? Am
I to think?* For the *scriptio plena* אֹומַר cf. Neh. **2**, 7. 17. 20; Ps. **42**,
10 (see AJSL **23**, 225, l. 5). The ר in הֶאָמוּר may be due also to
dittography of the ר; cf. notes on א, *α;* ה, *η;* ה, *α;* ZDMG **63**, 515,
l. 19; AJSL **26**, 10. Contrast note on ג, *ξ.*

Instead of הֲקָצֵר we must read קִצְרָה.

For אִם (𝕲 εἰ) read עִם; cf. עִם הַיָּשָׁר in the second line and the
phrases הֵיטִיב עִם and עָשָׂה עִם (חֶסֶד, רַע) עִם (GB 589[b], above).

For מֵעֹלָלָיו (𝕲 τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα αὐτοῦ) read בְּמַעַלְלֵיהֶם. The
ו of מֵעֹלָלָיו should be appended to דְּבָרַי (דְּבָרָיו = 𝕲 οἱ λόγοι
αὐτοῦ). מַעַלְלֵיהֶם was probably written מַעַלְלֵיהּ'; cf. note on iv
(תַּעֲנֶיהָ'). The omission of the ה was due to haplography; the
following word is הֲלוֹא. The final ו of מֵעֹלָלָיו may be due also to
dittography of the י, and the omission of the ו in דְּבָרַי יֵיטִיבוּ may
be due to haplography; ו and י are often confounded, haplographed and
dittographed. For the omission of the preposition בּ cf. note on ר, *β.*

For בּ in connection with קָצְרָה רוּחַ cf. Jud. **10**, 16; Zech. **11**, 8.

For הֲלֹךְ, at the end of the verse, we must read הֹלֵךְ אַחֲרֵי
(cf. 1 K **14**, 8) or הֹלֵךְ בִּדְרָכָיו (Ps. **128**, 1). 𝕿 עַל כָּל מַהְלְכִין בִּקְשׁוֹט.
Cf. first note on ה, i. הֹלֵךְ אִתּוֹ, in which the omission of אִתּוֹ
might be explained as being due to haplography, owing to the following
וְאִתְּמוֹל, would not be suitable in this connection. Cf. Gen. **14**, 24;
2 S **16**, 17; 2 K **6**, 4 and Gen. **5**, 22. 24; **6**, 9.

For הֲלֹךְ in v. 11 read (with WNM) הָלֹךְ; cf. GK § 159, x; WdG
**2**, 6, C; 347, C; Socin-Brockelmann's *Arab. Gr.*[6], §§ 157. 159. לוּ הָלֹךְ
וְהָיָה may mean, not only *If he had come, he would have been,* but also
*If he should come, he would be.* Cf. note on יָצָא in ט, i.

For רוה read ורוה; the omission of the ו is due to haplography; cf. above, note on האבור.

The כ in ליין ולשכר (𝔍 *in vinum et in ebrietatem*, 𝔊 εἰς οἶνον καὶ μέθυσμα, 𝔗 להבר ולרוי, but 𝔖 ܘܐܦ means *sive—sive, et—et*; see GK §143, c.

(ββ) The ב before גורל is due to the ב in בקהל. Cf. first note on aa.

(γγ) אל תטיפו is a variant (*Est.* 8, l. 8; cf. also note on ה, *o*) to לא תטיפו. Both expressions are impersonal; cf. GK §144, f. h and notes on vi; ג, iv; ו, η. The verb נטף does not mean *to preach*, but simply *to utter*; cf. our *to drop a word* = German *eine Bemerkung fallen lassen*. 𝔍 has *non stillabit super eos* for לא יטיפו לאלה. Cf. also ἐκβάλλειν ἔπος or ῥῆμα.

(δδ) יטיפון after אל תטיפו is a variant to יטיפו. The forms with final *n* are not archaic, but Aramaicizing, as are also the suffixes in Ps. 116, 7. 12. 19; see GK §91, l (cf. §44, l; §47, o) and notes on א, μ.

### ג

(i) For שילל read, with the Qᵉrê, שׁולל; for י = ו cf. notes on ii and א, λ; ב, π.

For ערום (and עירום) we had better point throughout עֵרֹום. The original form was ʽaṷarâm. This became עֵרֹם, עׁורֹום (cf. טׁב = טַב = ṭaṷab) and, with dissimilation, עֵירֹום; cf. תֵּיכֹון = תִּיכֹון, רֵאשֹׁון = רִאשֹׁון, חִיצֹון = חׁוצֹון, תֹּוכֹון, פֵּישֹׁון = פִּישֹׁון; see OLZ 12, 164, below. עֵרֹום sounds almost like עֵירֹום; cf. עֶפְרֹון for עֶפְרֹון &c and JAOS 28, 112. The substantives שָׁאֹון, לָשֹׁון, הָמֹון, *זָדֹון (perhaps also הֲרֹום) which are all derived from stems ע״ו, belong to a different class. Cf. *Nah.* 44. 19; BA 1, 165; 3, 580; AJSL 23, 245; see also note on ה, *b*. For שוא, the stem of שָׁאֹון, cf. Assyr. šû = mêxû (NE 140, n. 11) and KB 6, 239, n. 11; see also BA 1, 134.

(ii) For בכו בכי אל תבכו read בכו בכי; cf. note on ζ.

For בבית read בְּנֹותֶיךָ; נ was misread ב (contrast note on ב, ψ) and ו became י (cf. note on i). See also note on γ.

For לעפרה read לְעָפָר; the final ה is due to dittography of the initial ה of התפלשתי for which we must, with the Qᵉrê, read התפלשׁי.

*זֵדֹון, *boiling, seething* seems to be derived from a noun זֵד. המים הזֵידֹונים (Ps. 124, 5) does not mean *the proud waters* (Jerome, *aquae superbae*) but *the boiling water*, German, *das brausende, schäumende Wasser;* cf. Job 41, 23; AJSL 23, 241. 𝔊 ἀνυπόστατος, *irresistible* (so W) is incorrect; also 𝔍 *intolerabilis* and 𝔖 ܡܫܬܒܗܪ are unwarranted. Gesenius' *Thesaurus* stated: *in nostro vocabulo exaestuandi potestas primaria est.* De Wette rendered *überwogend*, with the note: *eigentlich siedend, überkochend.* Hitzig and Hupfeld translate *überwallend*, Cheyne: *raging.*

לעפר התפלשי means *bury thyself in the dust, lie concealed* (cf. 𝔖,
ὑποστέλλεσθαι, *to retire* in Jer. **25**, 34) *in the dust*, not *roll in the dust*.
The original meaning of this verb is *to burrow;* cf. *Proverbs* 38, 41;
39, 5. The renderings of the Versions (*sprinkle* or *wallow, roll*) are
gratuitous.

לעפר in this connection is idiomatic Hebrew; cf. Job **7**, 21; Pss. **7**,
6; **44**, 26; **89**, 45; **143**, 3; Lam. **2**, 11; Is. **21**, 9; **25**, 12; **28**, 2; Ez. **19**,
12; **26**, 11; **38**, 20; Am. **3**, 14; **5**, 7. In Jer. **14**, 2 we must read
קדרו לארץ=Assyr. qaqqariš quddudû (HW 580ᵇ. 593ᵇ) instead of
קדרו לארץ; cf. note on ℶ, ω.

For בני תענוגיך read בנות תענוגיך; the omission of the final ת
is due to haplography (cf. last note on ℶ, iii) and ו was miswritten י
(cf. first note on i).

For the phrase בנות תענוגיך, *thy charming daughters* see GK
§ 135, n, and for קרחי קרחתך cf. Lev. **21**, 5; Ez. **27**, 31.

(iii) For אנושה (𝔗 בְּמִרְעָא; cf. note on נמרין in ℶ, σ) read
אנושׂת; for ה = ת cf. note on λ.

For מכותיה (𝔊 ἡ πληγὴ αὐτῆς, 𝔖 ܡܚܘܬܗ) read מכותידן; this was
probably written 'מכותיה; cf. first note on א, ii.

For לפניהם we may read לפניהן; but לפניהם may be the original
form; cf. second note on ℶ, iv.

(iv) For עברי לכם read עברו לכם; cf. notes on ψ and ℶ, π. In
𝔐 this imperative is preceded by ⎯[ת]התפלשי. The plural is supported
by several MSS, also by 𝔗𝔍 'ΑΣ.

For שפיר read משׂפיר; the omission of the מ is due to haplo-
graphy; the intervening יושבת is a later insertion.

For the words which sever the two hemistichs of this line in 𝔐, see
notes on β, aa, ηη, γ.

יקח is impersonal; cf. note on ℶ, γγ. 𝔗 יתנסיב.

𝔗 שפר ארעכון read (or rather *heard;* cf. second note on א, i)
חמדתו for עמדתו; for ה = ע see AJSL **23**, 228; cf. also note on נהי
in ν.

For רתם, *bind* read the inf. abs. רתום (רָתוֹם). Cf. GK § 113, bb
and *Nah.* 27, last but one paragraph of notes on 2, 2. We must not
substitute רתוך (cf. 𝔗 רתכא, *chariot*) or רטשי (contrast *Est.* 61).
רתם is confirmed by 𝔊 ψόφος = ܪܘܙܐ, *murmur, whisper* (cf. קול רעש
אופן, *the sound of rumbling wheels*, Nah. **3**, 2). Heb. רתם (more cor-
rectly רָתַם = Arab. رتم), rátam) means originally *a brush of twigs
bound together;* besoms were originally made of the broom-plant
(*genista monosperma*). The plant was named from the implement, not
*vice versâ*. In Arabic, ارتم means *to tie someone a thread around his*

*finger* as a reminder (ارتم فلانا اذا عقد الرتمة فى اصبعه). The
رَتِمَة corresponds to the German *Knoten im Taschentuch*. We have
the same root (AJSL **23**, 252) in Arab. رتا, *to tie a knot* (=شلّ) and in
رتو يرتو, *to tie, bind, repair;* also in رتق, *to sew together, to mend,
repair* (cf. מְצֹרָרִים, Josh. **9**, 4). In Hebrew we have רתוּקות (or, more
correctly, רתִיקות) *chains* (Is. **40**, 19; cf. 1 K **6**, 21) and רֻתְּקוּ בַזִּקִּים,
*they were shackled in chains* (Nah. **3**, 10). Assyr. retû, *to fasten* (HW
630ᵃ) may represent either a stem رتع or رتع; it is synonymous with
Arab. رتب. Arab. رتّ (for rátita) *to stammer* means originally *to be
tongue-tied;* so, too, رتج, rátija. The transitive verb رتج means *to
fasten the door* (syn. اغلق). Also לעז, *to whisper, to stammer,* means
originally *to be tongue-tied,* unable to speak out or freely. Contrast the
conclusion of the notes on ד.

For רכש see *Est.* 61.

For רתֹם הַמֶּרְכָּבָה לָרכֶשׁ, *attach the cart to the steed* instead of
*attach the steed to the cart,* as we might be inclined to say, cf. the
Ciceronian *raeda equis juncta.*

The paronomasia would be more striking if we read טְעֹן הָרְכוּב
בִּרְכוֹש, *load the cart with goods;* but רתֹם הַמֶּרְכָּבָה לָרכֶשׁ is no
doubt original. The genuine Heb. form of טען (Gen. **45**, 17) would be
צֵעֹן (Is. **33**, 20)=Assyr. çênu; cf. צִירה=טִירה in note on ד, δ and
*Nah.* 25, l. 2; 35, l. 3; *Est.* 47 (*ad* **6**, 3). For רכוש=Assyr. rukûsu cf.
*Est.* 61. Heb. רכוב (Ps. **104**, 3) appears in Assyrian as rukûbu; cf.
HW 620ᵃ; *Kings* 175, 2.

יוֹשֶׁבֶת is a feminine collective; cf. note on ד, i.

(v) לכֵן (𝕮 בכֵן) in the present passage does not mean *therefore,*
but *verily thus;* the prefixed ל is not the preposition, but the emphatic
ל; cf. ב, aa (**2**, 5) and ד, i (**5**, 2); Num. **16**, 11; 1 S **3**, 14; Job **34**, 25;
**42**, 3; also Is. **26**, 14; **61**, 7. This לכֵן, *such being the case, under
these circumstances,* has about the same meaning as בכֵן; cf. *Est.* 22
(*ad* **2**, 13). For the *scriptio plena* (לא, Talmudic לאי) of this emphatic
particle cf. OLZ **10**, 305.

𝕲 ἐξαποστελλομένους, 𝔍 *emissarios* read שָׁלוּחִים instead of שָׁלֻּחִים
(1 K **9**, 16; cf. ברכה Jud. **1**, 15). 𝕮, however, has קוּרבנין; so, too,
'ΑΣΘ².

For עַל־נ̇מוֹרֶשֶׁת read לְמאׄורֶשֶׁת=לְמוֹרֶשֶׁת; cf. note on שאֵרם in
א, ii. The participle Pual בִּאׄורֶשָׂה (cf. Deut. **22**, 23. 25. 27) means
*betrothed* or *bride-elect.* The name בת is an appositional genitive like
צִיּוֹן in בַּת צִיּוֹן, *the maiden Zion* or פְרָת in נְהַר פְרָת; cf. GK

§128, k (also § 130, e), and OLZ **12**, 213, n. 11.  ℭ κληρονομία, ℨ *hereditas*, ܐ ܝ݂ܪܬܘܬܐ, derived מוֹרֶשֶׁת from ירשׁ.

For בָּתֵּי אַכְזִיב (ℭ οἴκους ματαίους) read בַּת אַכְזִיב, and for מַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל we must restore מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה; cf. last note on vi and last note on λ. The final י in מַלְכֵי is due to dittography; cf. also note on π and second note on א, a.

(vi) For אָבִי לָךְ the Qᵉrê requires אָבִיא לָךְ, and this is a corruption of יָבֹא אֵלַיִךְ. The omission of the א in אֵלַיִךְ is due to haplography; cf. *Est.* 47 (*ad* **6**, 4). For אֵלַיִךְ instead of אֵלָ(א)יִךְ cf. קַרְנַיִךְ instead of קַרְנֵךְ in *v* (**4**, 13). אָבִי is transposed from יָבֹא; cf. the last but one note on this couplet. ℭ read the third person.

For יוֹשֶׁבֶת מָרֵשָׁה read בַּת מָרֵשָׁה; the reading יוֹשֶׁבֶת is due to the last hemistich of couplet iv (יוֹשֶׁבֶת לָכִישׁ).

מָרֵשָׁה (more accurately מַרְאֵשָׁה, Josh. **15**, 44) means *capital*. Mareshah, afterwards known as Eleutheropolis, was the capital of the Shephelah. Mareshah is the present Tell Sandaḥanna, the southeastern hill of the three hills between which the modern village of Bêt Jibrîn, NE of Lachis, is situated. In 1 M **5**, 66 we must read Μαρισα (cf. 2 M **12**, 35) instead of Σαμαρίαν. ℭ has Μαρεισα instead of מֵישַׁע 1 Chr. **2**, 42.

There is no etymological connection between מָרֵשָׁה and יֹרֵשׁ, *heir*; מָרֵשָׁה is connected with ראשׁ, *head*, whereas יֹרֵשׁ, *heir* is connected with תִּירוֹשׁ, *must*, the unfermented juice pressed from the grapes (عصير). The original meaning of ירשׁ is *to press, squeeze, extort, rob, bereave;* יִירַשׁ, *he falls heir* means originally *he is bereft.* We have the same root (AJSL **23**, 252) in רָשׁ, *poor*, which means originally *squeezed, robbed;* also in هرت, *hirt, worn-out garment* (ثوب =)رثّ, plur. رثاث (syn. بليذة). German *Erbe* is identical with Lat. *orbus*, bereft = ὀρφανός, orphan. Lat. *heres* is connected with χῆρος, *empty, bare, destitute, bereft, widowed.* To bereave = to deprive, rob, strip, take away by violence. This is the original meaning of ירשׁ, *to dispossess.* The meaning *to dispossess* is more primitive than the meaning *to inherit;* cf. Eccl. **2**, 21. To deprive may mean also *to debar, withhold.* S h a k e s p e a r e uses *rob* in the sense of *prevent.* Heb. רֶשֶׁת, *net*, means originally *bereaving, bereaver, depriver, withholder.* Cf. note on ה, ξ (תירשׁ).

For עַד עֶדְלָם read (with ܐ ܥܕܡܐ ܠܥܠܡ) (حرمط) עֲדֵי עוֹלָם. This emendation is one of C h e y n e's sound suggestions from his pre-Jerahmeelitish period. For ד=ו cf. next note and note on ב, iv (הֲרֹתִי=הַדְרִי) and for עֲדֵי instead of עַד see note on א, γ. The place-name עֲדֻלָּם may mean *Impregnable* (cf. the remarks on בָּצְרָה in the notes on ה, δ).

It is derived from a stem עָדַל = Assyr. edêlu, *to bar, to fasten* (HW 24).
It is by no means certain that this Assyrian verb is a stem *primae* ר;
contrast GB *s.v.* דלח. Adullam was a famous stronghold. For מְעָרָה,
*cave*, we must read in 1 S **22**, 1; 2 S **23**, 13; 1 Chr. **11**, 15 מְצֹדָה, *strong-
hold;* cf. 1 S **22**, 4; 2 S **23**, 14 and *Nah.* 27. For the confusion of ד and
ר see note on ב, iv (הֲרֹתִי = הֲדָרִי). *Adullam* is a plural form like סְלָם;
cf. notes on א, iv.

For יָבֹוא (𝔊 ἤξει) read יָאבֹד; ר = ד, א transposed; cf. the first note
on this couplet (אבִי for יבֹא) and הֹרא for יֹאחֵז in ר, iii.

For יִשְׂרָאֵל we must again restore יְהוּדָה; cf. last note on v and
last note on λ. 𝔊 ἡ δόξα τῆς θυγατρὸς Ισραηλ is due to vertical dittography
of בַת (מִרְשָׁה) in the preceding line.

(*a*) The incorrect *scriptio plena* of אֵילְכָה is due to the preceding
אֵילִילָה; cf. note on לֶאֱכֹול in ר, i and notes on ν עֵינֵנוּ for עֵינֵנוּ).

(β) עִרְיָה is a gloss to עֵרֹם; cf. Ez. **16**, 7. 22. 39; **23**, 29. In וְאַתְּ
עֵרֹם וְעֶרְיָה both nouns are substantives, cf. וְהִיתָה תֹהוּ וּבֹהוּ, Gen.
1, 2 (GK §141, c). But in the present passage עֵרֹם עִרְיָה must be
explained in the same way as יְפֵה־תֹאַר &c (GK §128, x).

(γ) For בֵּית הָאֵצֶל (𝔊 οἶκον ἐχόμενον αὐτῆς, 𝔍 *domus vicina*) read
בְּנֹת הָאֵצֶל.

(ε) This gloss is an (inaccurate) illustrative quotation (cf. AJSL **26**,
10) from 2 S **1**, 20 (אַל־תַּגִּידוּ בְגַת). Even Ryssel regards it as a mar-
ginal addition. 𝔊 μὴ μεγαλύνεσθε read אַל־תַּגְדִּילוּ; 𝔖 ܠܐ ܬܣܒܪ̈ܢ : ℧ אַל
תַּגְדִּילוּ. These variants are based on a confusion of ד and ל; the ד in
𝔊 תַּגְדִּילוּ is due to dittography of the ר. Similarly 𝔊 ὀδύνη seems to
have read עֲמָלָתַן (fem. of עָמֵל) instead of עֲבֹדָתַן in v. 11. 𝔊𝔖 did
not realize that this clause was a quotation from 2 S **1**, 20. Nor has AV
treated it as a quotation: in 2 S **1**, 20, we find the translation *Tell it not
in Gath*, and in the present passage: *Declare ye it not at Gath* (but
RV: *Tell it not in Gath*). Similarly Luther has in 2 S **1**, 20: *Saget es
nicht an zu Gath*, and in Mic. **1**, 10: *Verkündiget es ja nicht zu Gath.*

(ζ) The negative in אַל תִּבְכּוּ instead of בְּכֹ is due to the preced-
ing quotation בְּגַת אַל תַּגִּידוּ.

(η) This is a correction of the preceding לְעָפְרָה which represents an
undeleted corrigendum; cf. second note on ב, vi.

(κ) For כִּי גֻלֹו מִמֵּךְ read כִּי יְגֻלֹו מִמֵּךְ; the omission of the pre-
formative is due to haplography.

(λ) For תִּתְגֹּדְדִי בַת גְדוּד read, with WNM, הִתְגֹּדְדִי הִתְגֹּדְדִי; the
two words in 𝔐 must be transposed: תִּתְגֹּדְדִי is miswriting for הִתְגֹּדְדִי,
and בַת גְדוּד is a corruption of the inf. abs. הִתְגֹּדְדִי. For ה = ת cf.
note on iii.

מָצֹור שָׂם עָלֵינוּ means *he laid siege to us*. מָצֹור is derived from
צָרַר (with צ₂ = ص, ز) *to bind, tie up*, just as בִּעֹון is derived from

עֻזּ ; cf. *Nah.* 19, below.  הֵצַר, *to beset, to press upon*, means originally *to hem in, to surround;* cf. Assyr. lamû (HW 379) and labû (HW 368ᵇ) whence תלפיות ; see *Kings* 95, 23.  The Semites called Egypt מִצֹר (cf. ר, vii) because the isthmus of Suez was fortified (GA 153. 259, below) so that all avenues of ingress and egress were blockaded.  For this reason the Edomite ancestors of the Jews crossed the Red Sea at the northwestern end of the smaller basin of the Bitter Lakes (ZDMG **63**, 529).  מִצְרַיִם is a *pluralis intensivus;* it means *the great fortification;* cf. נהרים &c (see *Nah.* 31).  The oldest form of the singular of מִצְרַיִם is *Miçça̦ru* which we find in the Amarna tablets (Knudtzon, No. 16).  Miçru, *territory*, means originally *boundary, border, limit.*  Similarly Assyr. limêtu means both *enclosure* and *territory* (HW 380ᵃ).  For verbs derived from nouns with prefixed *m* see AJSL **26**, 25, n. 67.  For the doubling of the ç in Miççaru (afterwards syncopated to Miçru) cf. THCO 232, n. 4; for the syncope of the *a* after a double consonant cf. Assyr. altu, *wife* (HW 106)=aštu, aššatu, anšatu.  The *a* is preserved in 𝔊ᴸ Μεσαραιμ Gen. **10**, 6. 13.  𝔊ᴸ may have preserved here the original form as in the case of Φουρδια = פורים (*Pur.* 50, 40).  Some cursive MSS of 𝔊 read Μεσσαραιμ with σσ; see Brooke & McLean, *The OT in Greek*, vol. **1**, part 1 (Cambridge, 1906) p. 23.  The ו in מִצֹּור, *siege* may be admitted,* but in the name מִצֹר, *Egypt*, which occurs only in four passages of the OT, it is due to dittography of the ר; cf. note on א, *a*, and last note on ר, vii.

שֻׁם is impersonal; we need not read שָׂמוּ, although 𝔖𝕮𝔍 have the plural; cf. note on ב, γγ.

For ישׂראל we must restore ירודד (cf. last note on vi) and for בשׁבט we must read בשֵׁבֶט (cf. 2 K **25**, 6).  A man who is smitten on the cheek is not struck with a rod (ῥάβδισμα John **18**, 22 = *alapa*).  𝔊 read שֵׁבֶט instead of שֹׁפֵט.  Cf. also Ez. **19**, 11. 14.

(ν) חָלָה is 3 fem. sing. from הוּל, not 3 m. sing. from חלה; 𝔖 ܐܬܟܪܗܬ, ᾽Α, ἠρρώστησεν, 𝔍 *infirmata est* would be חָלְתָה.

חלה לטוב is equivalent to טוב לה כי חלה ; cf. Ps. **119**, 71.  For לטוב (or לטובה) cf. Deut. **30**, 9; Ps. 119, 122; Gen. **50**, 20; Jer. **24**, 5.

For מֵרוֹת read מֵרוֹם ; cf. Is. **26**, 5.  Θ, κατοικοῦσα εἰς ὕψος, 𝕮 יתבא על שפר ארעא (cf. note on iv).  𝔊 (πλήγην) seems to have read מִכַּת instead of בִּמַּת in χ; for ὀδύνη = עֲמֹודֹתָו see note on ε.

The two triplets **4**, 9. 10 represent a quotation to illustrate the metaphorical use of חלה in 1, 12ᵃ.  Cf. Is. **26**, 17. 18; **37**, 3; **66**, 9; Hos. **13**, 13.

For תָּרִיעִי רָע 𝔊 (ἔγνως κακά) read תֵּדְעִי רָע ; for the confusion of ר and ד cf. note on ב, ω.  𝕮 understood רֵעַ, *companion* (= Assyr. ru᾽).

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*Cf. ימוד (in ב, ω) = ימֹד = ̦iamudd; מַצֹּור = מִצֹר = maçurr.

For הוּלִי read חִילִי ; cf. note on i. 𝔊 ὤδινε καὶ ἀνδρίζου is a doublet; cf. the double rendering of הַלֹאתִיךָ (ה, ii) in 𝔊 ἢ τί ἐλύπησά σε, ἢ τί παρηνώχλησά σοι. 𝔊 ἀνδρίζου (𐊱 ܚܣܢ܆ܘ)=חִילִי from the stem of חֵיל, *strength.* חֵיל, *strength, power* has a ‎ﺡ ; it appears in Assyrian as ellatu (HW 71 ª). חִיל, *to writhe* has a ‎ﺥ ; it appears in Assyrian as xâlu, ixîlu (HW 274 ᵇ; KB **6**, 498. 580). For ellatu= حَوَلَ cf. ellamu= אֵילָם and urru= אוֹר ; see notes on א, λ; ב, i; ה, a.

גֹּחִי (for gâḥî) is an intransitive imperative like הוּשִׁי (v. 13) or בּוֹאִי (for bâ'î). It means *expel* (the fetus)=הִבְלִךָ שִׁלְּחִי ; cf. Job **39**, 3. The Assyrian equivalent would be muššurî; see JAOS **16**, cvi; *Numbers* 63, 16; ZAT **29**, 219. The conjectures פְּעִי, הָאָנְחִי, הֹגִי are entirely gratuitous. גִּיחוֹן means *bursting forth* (for פְּיִשׁוֹן = *surgy* see note on i). In Ps. **22**, 10, we must read מַגְּחִי. We find the same root (AJSL **23**, 252) in נָגַח, *to thrust, push.* 𝔊 ἔγγιζε seems to have heard גְעִי, from נָגַע, for גֹּחִי ; cf. note on הֶעֱמַדְתַּן = עֲמַדְתַּן in iv and note on עֵפֶל in ה, δ.

𝔊 ἐπισυνήχθησαν, 𝔍 *congregatae sunt* = נֶאֶסְפוּ are correct; the rendering ἐπισυναχθήσεται is wrong.

For the Qal תֵּחֲנַךְ read the Hophal תֻּחֲנַךְ , *she shall be paganized;* cf. Dan. **11**, 32 and Syr. ܐܚܢܦ, *to paganize, to apostatize, to pervert to paganism.* The conjecture תֶּסְהַךְ (W) is gratuitous. 𐊱 ܬܬܛܢܦ, *she shall be defiled, shall commit abomination.*

For עֵינֵינוּ read the singular עֵינֵנוּ ; cf. Ps. **54**, 9; **92**, 12; also **6**, 8; **31**, 10; **88**, 10; Job **7**, 7; **13**, 1; **16**, 20; Gen. **45**, 20; Is. **13**, 18; Ez. **9**, 5 (Qᵉrê). The י is due to the י of the first syllable; cf. note on *a*. Contrast ו, vi and קַרְנֵךְ (v. 13) instead of קַרְנִיךְ .

The four hemistichs (*abcd*) of v. 13ª in 𝔐 must be arranged in the order *adcb*.

הוּשִׁי is an intransitive imperative like גֹּחִי (v. 10).

כִּי before קַרְנֵךְ should be prefixed to פַּרְסֹתַיִךְ , and ו before פַּרְסֹתַיִךְ should be prefixed to קַרְנֵךְ .

For קַרְנֵךְ read the plural קַרְנַיִךְ ; contrast note on עֵינֵינוּ (v. 11).

For the accusatives בַּרְזֶל, נְחוּשָׁה see GK §117, hh. Cf. note on ד, ii.

הַהֲרַמְתִּי is the second person fem. (so 𝔊𝔗𐊱𝔍). But as we have וְהֲדִקּוֹת in the first line, we had better read וְהַהֲרַמְתְּ (cf. GK §44, h). If we retain the form וְהַהֲרַמְתִּי, we must regard the third line as a tertiary gloss.

בֶּצַע means originally *portion;* cf. ZDMG **63**, 517, l. 1.

(ξ) For נָגַע read נֹגֵעַ or נֶגַע ; cf. note on ה, v and *Kings* 211, 31.

In cases like וַיֹּאמֶר and וַיֹּאמְרוּ for וַיְדַבֵּר and וַיְדַבְּרוּ the omission of the final וּ may be due to haplography. Contrast note on הָאָמוּר in ɜ , αα.

(π) We need not read, with 𝔊 ἐπὶ πύλας Ιερουσαλημ, לִשְׁעָרֵי יְרוּשָׁלַם ; the final י in 𝔊's reading לִשְׁעָרֵי may be due to dittography. Cf. last note on v.

(ρ) For וַיֵּצְאוּ בוֹ read וַיָּבֹאוּ בוֹ ; cf. *Est.* 37, last note on 4, 1. Similarly we must read יִרְקַב instead of יִרְהַק in וּ , vii.

(φ) This is an erroneous repetition of יֹשֶׁבֶת before לָכִישׁ and בָרוּם in the gloss 12 ª.

(ψ) 𝔊 ἀνάστηθι καὶ πορεύου read the singular, קוּמִי וּלְכִי , instead of קוּמוּ וּלְכוּ . Contrast first note on iv.
For בְּמֹרְחָה cf. AJSL 21, 141, n. 21.

(ω) This is a vertical dittogram (cf. note on γγ) of עַד at the beginning of the second line of vi. 𝔊 ἕως read עַד instead of עֲדֵ .

(αα) This is a tertiary gloss (omitted in 𝔊) to עָרֶיךָ . Without this addition, עָרֶיךָ might be read עָרֶיךָ ; so 𝔊 τὰς πόλεις αὐτῆς. Cf. ה , h.

(γγ) Vertical dittography (cf. *Kings* 86, 30) of the hemistich in the line above. Cf. note on ω.

(ζζ) בָּאָה does not presuppose the reading בַּפְּתָה (so 𝔊𝔖). בָּאָה may be explained as 3 fem. pl. in â (GK §44, m).

(ηη) צָאָן (𝔖 ܨܥܢ = צֹעַן , *Tanis*; 𝔊 Σεννααρ, i.e. שִׁנְעָר , for Σενναν, i.e. צָאָן) means *protection, protected place*. This is also the meaning of צִירוֹן = صِيان , çiìân, an infinitive of صَان يَصُون = حَفِظ . For צָאָן = צִירֵן cf. שָׁאָן in בֵּית שָׁאָן = حَبْل . Some MSS of 𝔊 have Σαιναν for צָאָן . Σ, εὐθηνοῦσα mistook צָאָן for שָׁאָן .

### ד

(ii) שָׂדֶה in the first hemistich is accusative; it does not mean *as a field* (𝔊 ὡς ἀγρός) but *into a field;* cf. לְבָמוֹת in the third hemistich. Zion is to be plowed down *into a field*, reduced to arable land, leveled with the ground, razed to the ground. The Assyrian phrase a n a t i l i u k a r m i u t î r, *I reduced to heaps and ruins* (HW 354ª) was formerly translated *I reduced to heaps and fields* (ZDMG **34**, 759). N translates *als Feld*, but calls it an accusative of the product. 𝔊ᴬ has εἰς in the second hemistich (𝔗 לְגִבְרִין) and ὡς in the third. Also 𝔊ⱽ has εἰς ἄβατον for לְעִיִּם in the parallel passage Jer. **26**, 18 (but 𝔊ᴬ ὡς). In the gloss Is. **5**, 6, וְעָלָה שָׁמִיר וָשָׁיִת , *there will shoot up thorns and briars,* on the other hand, שָׁמִיר וָשַׁיִת are nominatives; see AJSL **19**, 198. The accusative שָׂדֶה must be explained according to GK §117, ii; for לְ in לְבָמוֹת see §119, t; cf. the corrected text of Is. **17**, 1 in OLZ **10**, 307. See also note on בַּרְזֶל נְחוּשָׁה , in ɜ , v.

עִיִּין is an Aramaism for עִיִּים which we find in Jer. **26**, 18.

For לְבָמוֹת (so, too, Jer. **26**, 18) read the singular לְבָמַת, following 𝔊 εἰς ἄλσος δρυμοῦ, 𝔗 לְחִישַׁת חוּרְשָׁא‎, 𝔖 ‎ܟܡܐ ‎ܠܚܡܐ, *to a grove;* but 𝔍 *in excelsa silvarum.* The stem of בָמוֹת =Assyr. bâmâti may be בַהַם ; cf. Arab. بُهْمَة, búhmah, *stone, rock,* and Assyr. nârâti, *rivers,* dârâti, *generations,* kûmu, *place*=nahrâti, dahrâti, kuhmu; see AJSL **26**, 24, n. 57. For بُهْمَة, búhmah, *stone, rock* cf. Assyr. ubânu, *finger, peak, crag*=Heb. בֹּהֶן =Arab. اِبْهَام; ubânu may stand for hubânu=buhânu. For transposed doublets cf. last note on ט, ii, also Heb. נֹשֶׁךְ (נֹשֵׁב‎, נֹשֵׁךְ)=(נֹשֵׁם)= נֹפֵשׁ. Arab. اِبْهَم, ábhamu, *tongue-tied, not able to speak, stranger, barbarian* means originally *stony* in the sense of *stone-dumb,* as we say *stone-deaf, stone-dead, stone-still.* Heb. בְּהֵמָה , *cattle* is a feminine collective (cf. notes on ה , i) for *dumb brutes.*

<h2 style="text-align:center">ה</h2>

(i) For הָרִים read הֶהָרִים ; cf. note on א , i. The omission of the article is due to haplography; cf. הֹלֵךְ instead of הַהֹלֵךְ in ב , *aa* (2, 7). In מֹסְדֵי אָרֶץ the article is omitted, because אָרֶץ is regarded as a proper name; cf. GK § 125, f, and second note on ד , i. 𝔊 λαοί instead of ὄρη is due to carelessness.

For רִיב יְהוָֹה read רִיבִי , also לִי for לַיהוָֹה in the second line; יְהוָֹה may have been written ‎'ה. Cf. the later abbreviation ‎ד''ה* &c (GK § 5, m) and second note on iv.

For רִיב see ZDMG **63**, 517, l. 39; AJSL **26**, 19, l. 6.

For וְהָאֵתָנִים (𝔊 οἱ φάραγγες is a guess) read, with WNM, וְהַאֲזִינוּ ; the ם is due to dittography; the final ן was misread ‎י, and דְ (which may have been transposed, יְד) was corrupted to ת .

For עָמּוֹ read עַמִּי , and אֶתְוַכָּח for יִתְוַכָּח .(𝔊 διελεγχθήσεται). יִתְוַכָּח was pronounced ithṳakkáḥ; cf. second note on iv; GK §§ 24, e; 47, b.

(ii) עֲנֵה־בִי means lit. *answer against Me,* state as an objection or countercharge. 𝔖 ‎أَسْهِدْ (𝔗 אַסְהִיד בִי) is misleading.

(iii) For וְיִשְׁתְּמֹר read וַתִּשְׁמֹר , following 𝔊𝔍𝔖 (ἐφύλαξας, *custodisti,* ‎ܢܛܪܬ; 𝔗 נְטַרְתּוּן).

For וַתֵּלְכוּ (𝔊 ἐπορεύθητε, 𝔖 ‎ܗܠܟܬܘܢ) read וַתֵּלֶךְ (𝔍 *ambulasti*) and תִּשָּׂא for תִּשְׂאוּ (𝔊 λήψεσθε, 𝔍 *portabitis*).

When this last couplet of stanza A was appended to stanza B referring to the city, these forms may have been read וַתֵּלְכִי, וַתִּשְׁמְרִי , וְתִשָּׂאִי .

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*According to F. Perles, *Analekten zur Textkritik des AT* (Munich, 1895) p. 16 ‎הר was originally ‎'ה.

It is not necessary to read בְּעֹשִׂי instead of בְּעֹשֵׂה (cf. second note on א, i) although G'ATŠ have the plural.

עַמִּי (so, too, ŠCJ) is an abbreviation for עַמִּים (G λαῶν). The plural was written עַמִּי'; see note on א, ii.

(iv) The combination of vv. 9 and 12ᵃ has been suggested by M.

For קוֹל יהוה read קוֹלִי, and אֶקְרָא (GK § 144, l) instead of יִקְרָא; cf. last note on i and last note on ה, vi. For יִקְרָא instead of אֶקְרָא contrast אֶהְיֶה instead of יִהְיֶה in Ex. 3, 14; see OLZ 12, 211.

For וּמִי יְעָדָהּ; עוּד read, with WNM, מוֹעֵד הָעִיר, following G καὶ τίς κοσμήσει πόλιν = עִיר יְעָדָהּ וּמִי. The prefixed ו is due to dittography; so, too, the י of מִי; the י of יְעָדָה is miswriting for ו; on the other hand, the ו of עוּד is miswritten for י, and ד for ר; cf. last note on ב, iii; contrast עָרִי instead of עָדִי in ו, vii. The final ה of יְעָדָה must be prefixed to עִיר = עוּד; cf. note on אֶפְרָת הַצְּעִיר in ה, δ. T has וּשְׁאָר עַמָּא דְאַרְעָא for וּמִי יְעָדָה.

The last hemistich of this couplet is not a quotation from Ps. **120** (so M).

(v) הָאֵשׁ (G πῦρ, J ignis, Š ܢܘܼܪ; but T הָאִית) must be read הָאֵשׁ = הָאִשֶּׁה (cf. *Proverbs* 50, 39) from נָשָׂה = Assyr. mašû; cf. הָאָל = הָאֵלָּה (*Leviticus* 30, 39) and note on ג, ξ. הָאִשֶּׁה may have been written הָאִשָּׁא (GK § 75, rr) and the omission of the final א may be due to haplography (בֵּית רָשָׁע is a gloss).

G (ὕβρις) mistook רָזוֹן for זָדוֹן (transposition of ז, and ד for ר).

זָעוּם = علىـه مغضـوب; זְעוּמָה denotes a thing over which people are enraged, which enrages, angers, exasperates people. Cf. note on ו, v.

For הַאֶזְכֶּה read, with R, following J numquid justificabo, הַאֶזְכֶּה = Assyr. uzakkîsa (HW 254ᵃ). Ušazgû (Beh. 9) must be derived from the same stem; the -gû or -qû instead of -kû must be explained as in izqur (HW 510ᵃ) = izkur; contrast *Nah.* 35, l. 11. The Piel הַאֲזַכֶּה would mean *Shall I make clean,* but not *Shall I pronounce clean, consider clean.*

It is possible that the reading בְּמֹאזְנֵי רֶשַׁע is due to אֹצְרוֹת רֶשַׁע in the preceding line; but it is not necessary to substitute מִרְמָה (Hos. **12**, 8; Am. **8**, 5; Prov. **11**, 1; **20**, 23). As we find מֹאזְנֵי צֶדֶק (Lev. **13**, 36; Ez. **45**, 10; Job **31**, 6) we cannot take exception to מֹאזְנֵי רֶשַׁע.

The preposition בְּ in the present passage is equivalent to *in spite of;* cf. בְּכֹל זֹאת (GB 80ᵃ, e).

(vi) For הֶחֱלֵיתִי read (אִתִיתִי עֲלָךְ מֵרַע T) הַחִלּוֹתִיךָ (and הִפֵּיתְךָ instead of הִכּוֹתֶךָ; for ו instead of י cf. last note on iv. G ἄρξομαι (Š ܟܡܣܚܣܡ = اَهـن) = הַחִלֹּתִי, *I begin* is not good. We may transpose

the two verbs הֲלַכְתְּ הֲבִיתֵךְ, but this is not absolutely necessary.
A *hysteron-proteron* is not uncommon.

For the adverbial inf. הַשְׁמֵם (GK § 113, h) we had better read
וַהֲשִׁמֹּתְךָ.   Grätz proposed הַשְׁמְּדֶךָ.

For חֲטָאתֶךָ read חַטֹּאתֶיךָ.

The first clause of v. 14 must be combined with v. 15 (so M).

For וְיֶשְׁחֲךָ read וְרֹשׁ הֵן; there is no allusion to colic in this verse
(W says, *Man erwartet: der Frass wird dir im Bauche grimmen*). הֵן
denotes *something pleasant, handsome, goodly;* cf. Prov. **3**, 22. וְרֹשׁ
הֵן בְּקִרְבֶּךָ is a conditional clause; cf. Eccl. **1**, 10; **2**, 21; also *Nah.* 36,
l. 9. 𝕲 σκοτάσει read יֶחְשַׁךְ instead of יֶשְׁחַךְ (for הֵן רֹשׁ). Cf. תִּשְׁכַּח
Ps. **137**, 5 for תִּכְחַשׁ (OLZ **10**, 65).

For בְּקִרְבֶךָ read בְּקִרְבֶּךָ.

For וַתֵּסַג (𝕲 καὶ ἐκνεύσει, but 𝕵 *et apprehendes*, i.e. וַתַּשֵּׂג; cf. note
on יָסַג in ב, *aa*) read וְרִסֹּג or וְרִסָּג.

For תְּפַלֵּט read תְּפַלֵּטִי.

(*a*) For this introductory gloss cf. א, *β*. δ.

Insert פְּנֵי (cf. Gen. **33**, 19) between אֶת הֶהָרִים (𝕲𝕾 עִם); אֶל
הֶהָרִים (𝕲 πρὸς τὰ ὄρη) cannot mean *before the mountains.* We can
hardly assume a noun אֵל, *front;* nor can we read אֻלָם הֶהָרִים =Assyr.
*ellamu, in front;* cf. note on א, λ. The stem of אֵל, *front* is אול,
whereas the stem of אֵל, *God* is איל; מול, *front* is a contraction of
מֹאוּל from אול; see AJSL **22**, 250; ZAT **29**, 284, n. 1. The preposition
אֵת means *near* in Jud. **3**, 19; **4**, 11; 1 K **9**, 26; 2 K **9**, 27; perhaps also
in 1 S **7**, 16 (where אֵת יִשְׂרָאֵל is a gloss; see Driver *ad loc.*) but
רִיב אֵת הֶהָרִים could mean only *Strive with the mountains;* cf. Ps.
**35**, 1. For 1 K **9**, 25 see *Kings* 113, 51.

(δ) We need not (with 𝕲 κατὰ σοῦ, 𝕾 ‏كلـم‏) add עָלֶיךָ after יָעַץ,
but we may insert after בִּלְעָם בֶּן בְּעוֹר (cf. ZDMG **63**, 506, l. 16) the
clause זְכָר נָא מֶה הִפְלִיאוּ לְהַעְזֵר; cf. GK § 114, n and Josh. **4**, 23;
**5**, 1. For שִׁטִּים and הַגִּלְגָּל cf. Josh. **3**, 1. 20. 𝕿 supplies הֲלֹא גְּבוּרָן
אִתְעֲבִידָא.

For the etymology of מוֹאָב see OLZ **12**, 163, n. 1.

For צִדְקוֹת, *victories, triumphs* cf. ר, v and AJSL **21**, 140, n. 17.

(ε) We need not read (with N) אַתְּ הִיא (𝕾 ‏ـكصـخ‏) for אִתָּךְ (𝕲 σε, 𝕵 *te,*
𝕿 יָתָךְ). The glossator apostrophizes Jerusalem; cf. last note on ר, η.
For the third person in יֹשְׁבֶיהָ after the second person in אִתָּךְ cf.
notes on ה, δ; ט, i. The suffix in יֹשְׁבֶיהָ can hardly refer to שָׁמָּה
(so M).

(η) בִּטָה (ᴳ φυγή, ᴶ *tribus;* but ᴛ מַלְכָּא וְשִׁלְטוֹנָא) denotes here the Jewish Congregation; cf. Ps. **74**, 2 where עֵדָתְךָ = שֵׁבֶט נַחֲלָתֶךָ (contrast GJV 2, 290). In Ps. **122**, 3. 4 (שִׁבְטֵי יָהּ) שָׁשָּׁם עָלוּ שְׁבָטִים is a gloss to the line

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הַבְּנוּיָה שֶׁחֻבְּרָה־לָּהּ יַחְדָּו      עֲדַת יִשְׂרָאֵל .
</div>

Also לְהֹדוֹת לְשֵׁם , לְמִשְׁפָּט כִּסְאוֹת are glosses; cf. AJSL 2, 99, n. 5; **11**, 72. 136; contrast JAOS 27, 120. עֵדָת instead of עֵדָ is due to dittography; cf. second note on ξ and note on א, a.

(κ) We must not read בְּבֵית רֶשַׁע (contrast *Est.* 11, l. 13) for בֵּית רֶשַׁע; cf. OLZ 12, 68, n. 9, and first note on ז, ii; also second note on ה, δ.

(ν) For וְתוֹשִׁיָּה יִרְאֶה שְׁמֶךָ read וְתוֹשִׁיע יִרְאֵי שְׁמֶךָ, following ᴳ σώσει φοβουμένους τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ (=וְירוֹשִׁיעַ יִרְאֵי שְׁמוֹ). Cf. JAOS **22**, 42, and for יִרְאֶה instead of יִרְאֵי (so several MSS; ᴶ *salus erit timentibus nomen tuum*) see second note on א, i. A similar (theological) gloss is Eccl. **3**, 15, וְהָאֱלֹהִים יְבַקֵּשׁ אֶת־נִרְדָּף, *God looks after him who is persecuted;* see *Eccl.* IV, ε. As early as 1800 Hartmann explained וְתוֹשִׁיָּה יִרְאֶה שְׁמֶךָ as an edifying gloss.

(ξ) The first hemistich of this couplet appears in 𝕸 at the beginning of v. 14.

The spelling תִּקְצוֹר instead of תִּקְצֹר is due to dittography; cf. the remark on עֵדָת instead of עֵדָ in the note on η and the remark on יַעֲמוֹד in *Nah.* 19.

For וְתִירוֹשׁ read וְתִירַשׁ, *thou wilt press.* This is the primitive meaning of the stem יָרַשׁ; cf. fourth note on ג, vi. תִּירוֹשׁ instead of תִּירַשׁ may be due to dittography.

(ττ) This addition is unnecessary; cf. Ruth **3**, 3; Dan. **10**, 3.

(νν) In the same way תִּשְׁתֶּה is clear without the addition of יָיִן. *He drinks* is sufficiently suggestive in English, as is also *er trinkt* in German.

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ו
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(i) הָיִיתִי must be transposed to the end of the first line.

For אָסְפֵּי read, with N, אֹסֵף. ᴳ ὡς συνάγων, ᴶ *sicut qui colligit.*

For עֹלְלֹת, *gleanings* read עֹלְלֵי, *gleaners,* although the feminine participle might be explained as referring to the אַלְמָנוֹת, Deut. **24**, 19–21.* The original meaning of עָלַל, *to glean* is not *to repeat* (cf. Arab. عَلَّ, 'álla, which means especially *to drink a second time*) but *to bring in;* cf. Aram. עֲלַל, *to go in.* Syr. ܥܠܠܬܐ is equivalent to Assyr. šûrubtu *ingathering* (HW 128ª) from erêbu, *to enter;*

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* Duhm renders: *Weh mir, Obstsan.mlern gleich ich und weinnachlesenden Weibern.*

ܡܳܐ ܐ̰ܟܽܡܠܳ, ܟܠ̈ܟܕ݂ܐ means *at the bringing in of the harvest;* also مُحَلّ
(Arab. مغل, muḡállu‎ⁿ) denotes *crop, produce* (Heb. תְּבוּאָה). Arab.
غِلَّة غَلّ, ḡálla ḡállata‎ⁿ means (an estate) *produces produce;* استغل
istaḡálla=*to harvest.* Assyr. mušullilu ugari (BA **2**, 417, l. 8;
HW 73ª) may be derived from the same stem; also the א of the name of
the month Ulûlu may have been an א₅ (KAT², 492)=غ, so that אֱלוּל
(for עֱלוּל) means *harvest-month.** For א=غ cf. ܓ אוּרְזִילָא (Cant.
**2**, 9)=Assyr. uzâlu (cf. *Kings* 121, 13)=Arab. غُزَيِّل, the diminutive of
غُزَال, *gazel.* Assyr. alluxappu=šaqqu ša še'im, *a sack for grain*
(HW 74ª) may be a compound of allu for ḡallu, *produce,* especially
*grain,* and xappu, *covering* (cf. HW 286ᵇ). Heb. עָלַל, *to glean* is
not denominative. The noun עֹלֵלוֹת, *gleaning* should be pointed
עֲלֵלוֹת; so, too, הוֹלֵלוֹת (cf. Eccl. **10**, 13) instead of הוֹלֵלוֹת, *folly.*
For the intensive plurals חָכְמוֹת, *wisdom* and צַלְמוֹת, *darkness,* see
AJSL **21**, 142.

For לֶאֱכֹל read לֶאֱכֹל; the *scriptio plena* may be due to the pre-
ceding אֶשְׁכֹּל; cf. note on ג, a.

The emendation נֶפֶשׁ instead of נַפְשִׁי is not good; אוֹתָהּ נַפְשִׁי
is a relative clause (GK § 155, h). ܓ οἴμοι ψυχή read אוֹיָה נַפְשִׁי (Ps.
**120**, 5) instead of אוֹיְתָה נַפְשִׁי.

(ii) The rhythm is improved by reading אֵינֶנּוּ instead of אֵין. It
is true that אֵין may be separated from בָּאָדָם by a pause; cf. second
note on ט, ii.

ܓ δικάζονται read יְרִיבוּן (cf. notes on ה, i) instead of יָאַרְבוּ.

For יֶצוּדוּ חֵרֶם read יָצוּד בְּחֵרֶם; cf. note on β.

(iii) The Versions did not understand the second line of this couplet.
וִיעַבְּתוֹה, at the end of v. 3, must be transposed to the beginning of the
last hemistich, and the final ה should be prefixed to the following word;
cf. note on הַגֹּזְלִים in א, ii. The emendation וִיעוּתוֹר (W) is
gratuitous. Nor need we read יְעוּתוֹן for יַעַבְטוּן in Joel **2**, 7.

הוּא after נַפְשׁוֹ, at the end of v. 3, is a corruption of יֹאחֵז:† the
omission of the initial י after נַפְשׁוֹ is due to haplography; א is trans-
posed; ה is a corruption of ח; the omission of ז before ו is due to
haplography. Cf. אֲבִי for יָבֹא and יָבוֹא for יֹאבַד in ג, vi. The

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*In Sumerian the Adar (March) is called the harvest-month (iti-še-kin-kud; cf.
ASKT 64, 12; 204, No. 22). This was the beginning of the grain harvest (Deut. **16**, 9) in
Babylonia. The Elul (Sept.) is the time of the vintage, &c (אָסֹרֶת). Adar corresponds to
מַצּוֹת, and Elul to סֻכּוֹת. For the original dates of these festivals see *Est.* **76. 78** (cf. also
ZDMG **62**, 636, l. 1; 637, 39; 640, 18).

†In Mandelkern's Concordance the impf. is mispointed יֹאחֵז instead of יֹאחֵז;
so, too, יֹאמְרוּ, יֹאכְלוּ, &c.

idea that נפשו הוא is a corruption of והמשפט and that ε is dittography of והמשפט (M) is not good.

For טובם read הטובם; the final ה of וריעבתיה must be prefixed
to טובם; for טובם instead of טובם cf. Ps. **4**, 8 where we must read
דגנם ותירושם instead of דגנם ותירושם; see AJSL **26**, 22.

For ישר read הישרם; the final ה of וריעבתה must be prefixed
also to ישר; the omission of the final ם is due to haplography.

For מסוכה read משוכה; cf. Prov. **15**, 19 and note on יסב in
ב, *aa*; contrast note on א, ζ.

(iv) For the feminine collective אבת cf. note on ה, i (הצללה
הנלאה and והנדחה).

כי is concessive; cf. *Nah.* 29 (*ad* v. 1).

(v) For זעם = זעם (cf. ה, v) = Assyr. zenû see AJSL **26**, 3, §3,
and for פ = מ cf. פלט = מלט; נשם = נשך; see note on במות in ה, ii.

After ורציאני insert יהוה. The omission of the divine name in
this case is due to vertical haplography.

For צדקה, *triumph* see note on ה, δ.

(vi) We need not, with WN, substitute אזן for אזו (so, too, M).

For תראינה (GK §75, w) read תראינה; cf. note on ה, *b*;
תראינה cannot be explained as an *energicus* (= Arab. ḥarainānni).

(vii) For יום לבנות see GK §130, a.

𝔊 ἡμέρα ἀλοιφῆς πλίνθου read לבנות instead of לבנות.

גדר is connected with Sum. gir, *asphalt;* see *Nah.* 34, *ad* 17ᵇ;
BL 132. Similarly גדל may be derived (not from the Sumer. gal,
*great,* but) from Arab. جل, jálla = عظم (الله عزّ وجلّ). Cf. the
remarks on فلام in the footnotes to ז, iii.

We must not read גדרי and עדי (M) instead of גדריך and עדיך;
the Congregation speaks in the first two stanzas; in the third stanza Zion
is addressed. Cf. the conclusion of the note on η.

For יום ההוא instead of היום ההוא see GK §126, w.

For ירחק (𝔊ᵛ ἀποτρύψεται, 𝔊ᴬᴹ ἀπώσεται) read יקרב; cf. יצאו
instead of יבאו in ג, ρ. For similar confusions of the scribes see
OLZ **12**, 212, l. 11. In the present case the substitution of ירחק for
ירקב was favored by the following הק; but the alteration may have
been not accidental, but intentional; cf. *Ezra-Nehemiah* 61, 21; *Kings*
72, 18; 216, 10.

For חק read החק. הק means here *limit, term;* cf. Job **14**, 13
(Zeph. **2**, 2 is corrupt) and عنك حقّ.

For יום הוא (GK §126, aa) read יום ההוא; the omission of the
article is due to haplography. We cannot translate *a day is it when
they will come.*

For the *Waw apodosis* cf. *Est.* 16, l. 7.

For וְעָרֶיךָ (𝔊 αἱ πόλεις σου = עָרֶיךָ) point וְעָדֶיךָ.

For יָבוֹא read יָבֹאוּ.

For לְמֵימַי point לְמֵימַי; cf. AJSL **19**, 133.

For וְעָרֵי read וְעָדֵי or וְעַד; contrast עוֹד for עִיר in ה, iv.

For מָצוֹר read מֶצַר; the ו in מִצוֹר is due to dittography of the
ר. In the same way we must read פֶּתַר =Assyr. Pitru instead of
פַּתוּר; cf. ZDMG **63**, 515, l. 18 and second note on ג, λ. The forms
מִצוֹר and פַּתוּר are just as incorrect as the pointing עֶקְרוֹן instead
of עֶקְרֹן; see *Kings* 178, 43.

The ؛ should stand after the second hemistich of v. 12. The last
two hemistichs of v. 12 in 𝔐 form the beginning of a new sentence.

(viii) For וּלְמִן־מֶצֶר וַעֲדֵי הַפָּרָת וּלְמִנִּי מָצוֹר וְעַד־נְהַר read.

For מִיָּם־יָמָּה וּמְהַר הָרָה read וְיָם מִיָּם וְהַר הָהָר. Instead of
הָרָה we may point also הֶרָה;* cf. BAL 90, n. 2; *E* 20, below; GK
§ 27, q. 𝔊 καὶ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἕως θαλάσσης καὶ ἀπὸ ὄρους ἕως τοῦ ὄρους, but 𝔍
*et ad mare de mari et ad montem de monte.* The ו at the beginning
of the second hemistich is due to dittography of the ר at the end of the
first hemistich.

Between vv. 12 and 13 two lines have dropped out in 𝔐. For the
second line of viii cf. Ps. **96**, 7ª. 8ᵇ; also **68**, 30. 32† (see AJSL **23**, 224)
and **76**, 13ª (ZDMG **61**, 287). See also the Maccabean chapter Is. **60**.

(ix) For the first line of this couplet cf. Ps. **92**, 10. For the two
lines inserted in the text we might substitute also Ps. **37**, 29. 38.

(β) The emendation הֲנֵם (cf. Lam. **3**, 52) is gratuitous; but it is
better to read בְחֵרֶם instead of חֵרֶם; וַהֲרֹם in יִצֲוֹדוּהֵרֶם (see last note
on ii) may be a phonetic corruption of בְחֵרֶם, just as וְהֶבֶל in ב, σ is
a phonetic corruption of בְהֶבֶל. Cf. also note on מְעַלְלָיו in ב, aa. 𝔍
*ad mortem,* 𝔖 ܢܶܥܒܽܘ connected חֵרֶם with הֶחֱרִים, *to exterminate.*

(γ) Similarly we had better read in v. 5 בְחֵיק (cf. 2 S **12**, 3; 1 K **1**,
2) instead of חֵיקָ; the verb שָׁכַב is not construed with the accusative;
see *Leviticus* 30, 5. 𝔊 has for חֵיקָ מִשֹּׁכֶבֶת ἀπὸ τῆς συγκοίτου σου, 𝔗
קֵירְיְמָךְ מֵאִיתַת, 𝔖 simply ܘܢܒܐ مِنْ, but 𝔍 *ab ea quae dormit in sinu
tuo.* The phrase בְחֵיק corresponds to the Assyr. ina sûni (HW 491ᵇ;
KB **6**, 82, l. 35; 88, l. 21). This does not mean *at the bosom,* but *in the
lap* or *at the hip;* it is used also for *hypogastric* (or *pubic*) *region;* cf.
AJSL **26**, 1; JBL **21**, 46, C. Aram. חֵיקָא is a synonym of הֲנֵא, and
Syr. ܚܨܐ means also *privy parts.* The rendering *at the bosom* may be

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*We find a similar اسمال in פְּדֶנָה instead of פְּדָנָה; cf. ZDMG **63**, 526, l. 41.

†For רָאֲתִיוּ point יְאֵתָיוּ, not רָאֲתִיוּ! Cf. GK §53, n (וַיַּדְרְכֻן) &c) and §75, u. dd. gg.

retained as a euphemism; cf. our phrase *to take to one's bosom* = to marry.
חֵיק is connected with Assyr. xâqu, ixîqu; cf. KAT², 7, 14; HW 275ᵃ.
It appears in Arabic as خاف which is used for *vulva* (فرج). The
خاف بان, xâqi, bâqi is said to denote the sound of the ذكر in the
flesh of the interior of the فرج on the occasion of the act of the نكاح
(see Lane *s. v.*). The verb خاف يخوق has the meaning of جامع.
Assyr. sûnu may be connected with Arab. جامع = سغم; for sûnu =
su'nu cf. šûzuzu = šu'zuzu (HW 36ᵇ) and šûrubtu, *ingathering* =
šu'rubtu, from غرب (see note on עֹלֵלֹת in i). The *n* instead of *m* in
sûnu is due to partial assimilation; cf. Assyr. zenû (זְנַע) = זָעַם; see
note on ר, v. In Ethiopic, ሰዐመ ፡ means *to kiss;* cf. French *embrasser*.
There is no connection between חֵיק and حاف يحيق, *to surround,
hem in* (احاط).

For the etymology of כַּלָּה see AJSL **22**, 257; AJP **27**, 161.

אַנְשֵׁי בֵיתוֹ is correctly rendered in 𝔊 οἱ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ, 𝔍 *domestici
ejus.*

For the combination of a couplet with 2+2 beats and a couplet with
3+3 beats cf. א, δ'and my remarks on the Song of Lamech in AJSL
**20**, 164.

It is not necessary to transpose the second and fourth hemistichs of
v. 6 so as to have the hemistichs referring to בַת and כַּלָּה in one line.

The whole passage is a quotation (cf. AJSL **26**, 10 and note on ר, δ)
as it is also in Matt. **10**, 35. 36.

(δ) For לְהָרַע כַּפֵּיהֶם הֵיטִיב read עַל הָרַע כַּפִּים לְהֵיטִיב, fol-
lowing 𝔊 ἐπὶ τὸ κακὸν τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν ἑτοιμάζουσιν, 𝔖 ܐܡܛܝܒܘ ܥܠܬܒܫ؛
ܐܝܕܝܗܘܢ. In the same way we must read כַּפֵּיהֶם (= 𝔖 ܘܒܐܝܕܗ،) for
כַפַּיִם in Ps. **91**, 12; see my explanation of this Maccabean talisman in
the *Florilegium Melchior de Vogüé* (Paris, 1909) p. 277. The לְ in
לְהֵיטִיבוּ must be dropped, just as the לְ must be canceled before אָרִיב
in ב, η; on the other hand, we must read לְ instead of עַל.

(ε) and (ζ) are both misplaced glosses to הַשֹׁר; cf. note on ב, ε.

(η) is a gloss to iv. In 𝔐 v. 4ᵇ is separated from v. 7 by γ.

The emendation הֵרִי instead of יוֹם (M) is gratuitous.

For מִצַּפִּיךְ read צִפּוּתְךָ; the initial מַ is due to dittography; י is
miswriting for ו; the תׄ, which must be inserted, must be canceled in
פְּקֻדָּתְךָ (gloss oo). יוֹם צִפּוּתְךָ means *the day thou lookest for* or *for
which thou hopest;* cf. iv. The *thou* refers to the Congregation; cf.
fourth note on vii and note on ה, ε.

(ι) כִּי is concessive; cf. notes on iv.

(ξ) For the etymology of טיט see *Nah.* 32, below.

(ν) is omitted in several MSS of 𝔊 ; 𝔊ᵛᴬ have it.

(oo) For פְּקֻדָּתְךָ read פְּקֻדְּךָ ; see note on η. The emendation בְּקֻדְתָם is not good. פְּקֻד(ת) is a subsequent addition to מִצְפֶּיךָ, or rather צִפּוּתְךָ, not *vice versa.* פְּקֻדְךָ means here *thy longing;* cf. Ez. 23, 21 (GB 648ᵇ, l. 10). *To desire* is the common meaning of the stem in Ethiopic. *To miss* means also *to feel the need of, to long for.* The original meaning is *to look for.* The root (AJSL **23**, 252) is פק , whence Assyr. pâqu and napâqu (HW 516ᵇ. 475ᵃ). Cf. also פקה , حفض = بقا ; بقى ; also حضص and بقى , בקר (= פקד Ez. **34**, 11. 12) and بقو , بقا ; also حضص and دعق (cf. AJSL **23**, 245). The semasiological development is *to burst, to open, to open the eyes, to look, to look for, to await, wait, remain, be left.*

<div style="text-align:center">ר</div>

(i) For שֹׁכְנֵי (GK § 90, 1) read, with R, Stade, M, שֹׁכְנֵי . Also 𝔊𝔍𝔗𝔖 have the plural.

Insertion of the article before יער improves the rhythm ; cf. Is. **32**, 15 וְכַרְמֶל לַיַּעַר יֵחָשֵׁב ; also Josh. **17**, 15. Before כַּרְמֶל the article is not necessary ; cf. first note on ה , i. 𝔊 has simply δρυμόν, but prefixes the article to Carmel, Bashan, and Gilead.

(ii) We need not explain כִּימֵי עוֹלָם as haplography of כְּבִימֵי עוֹלָם (for confusion of ב and כ see *Est.* 16, l. 4). Cf. GK § 118, u and note on ה , k.

For צֵאתְךָ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם read צֵאתֵנוּ מִצְרַיִם ; for the construction with the accusative cf. GK § 116, h. 𝔊𝔍 (τῆς ἐξοδίας σου; *egressionis tuae*) read ךָ , but 𝔗𝔖 (נصحن , מֵיפָּקְהוֹן) have the 3. pers. plur.

For אַרְאֶנּוּ read, with MN, הַרְאֵנוּ . This may be a phonetic corruption ; cf. first note on א , ii.

(iii) יֵבֹשׁוּ מִגְּבוּרָתָם does not mean *they will despair of their might.* This translation, which was proposed by O r e l l i in 1888, and which has since been adopted by WNM and G. A. Smith, is unwarranted; יֵבֹשׁוּ מִגְּבוּרָתָם is not equivalent to יוֹאָשׁוּ מִגְּבוּרָתָם . Nor can we render, with R e u s s, *they will be disgraced despite their power;* similarly K a u t z s c h ' s *Textbibel* renders *mit all' ihrer Macht.* This would require the emendation בִּגְבוּרָתָם ; K r a e t z s c h m a r proposed to read בִּגְבוּרָתָם בּוֹשִׁים* in Ez. **32**, 30. But the preposition מִן is warranted by the Versions and by a number of parallel passages. 𝔊 has in the present passage: ἐκ πάσης τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτῶν, 𝔗 וְיִתַּבְּהַתוּן מִכָּל גִּיבְרוּתְהוֹן , 𝔖 נصحن، مصحمله مه هلحه هلصه, but 𝔍 *confundentur super omni fortitudine sua,* which means, according to G r o t i u s,

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* This is a gloss derived from the present passage.

*Pudore efficientur ob (ita subito) omne robur suum (destructum).*
*Super*, however, means *in regard to;* it corresponds to the Greek περί in the phrase ἐψεῦσθαι περί τινος instead of τινός. We could say in Greek: ψευσθήσονται περὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν δυνάμεως; cf. Thuc. 4, 108.

The preposition מִן in יֵבֹשׁוּ מִגְּבוּרָתָם must be explained according to GK §128, f; GB 429[a], g; WdG 2, 139, B. This phrase means literally *They will experience disappointment from their power*, on the part of their power; cf. WdG 2, 131, C. In Syriac, ܟܐܬ ܟܗܬ means *to be abashed* or *embarrassed* (in the presence of superiors, &c) whereas ܟ ܟܗܬ = *to be ashamed of;* ܟ is here the בְּ *instrumenti*. In Ps. 69, 7, on the other hand,

$$\text{אַל־יֵבֹשׁוּ בִי קֹוֶיךָ    אַל־יִכָּלְמוּ בִי מְבַקְשֶׁיךָ}$$

means: *Let not those who look to Thee be disgraced in me, let not those who seek Thee be dishonored in me*, i.e. If I were disgraced and dishonored, it would reflect on all who look to Thee for help and apply to Thee for guidance. A nation may be insulted in its representative. Cf. also AJSL **21**, 141, n. 19.

J. D. Michaelis (1782) rendered יֵבֹשׁוּ מִגְּבוּרָתָם: *sie sollen durch ihre tapferen Thaten beschämt werden;* he probably referred the suffix to the Jews. Theiner (1828) translated: *sie sollen sich schämen aller ihrer Macht;* also RV renders: *they shall be ashamed of all their might;* but this is impossible.* AV has *confounded at all their might.* Kleinert in Lange's *Bibelwerk* (Bielefeld, 1868) translated: *sie werden sich schämen so dass all ihre Kraft vergeht;* he referred to Ezek. **32**, 30 and Is. **23**, 1 (cf. GK § 119, y).†

The correct translation of יֵבֹשׁוּ מִגְּבוּרָתָם is *they will be disappointed by their power*, i.e. their power on which they relied will be a קֶשֶׁת רְמִיָּה (Hos. **7**, 16; Ps. **78**, 57): it will fail them. The translators of AV might have said *They will be failed by their power.* This meaning of בּוֹשׁ מִן is evident in a number of passages, *e.g.* Is. **49**, 23: לֹא יֵבֹשׁוּ קֹוָי, *they who confide in Me will not be disappointed*, I shall not fail those who confide in Me; — Is. **20** 5: וּבֹשׁוּ מִכּוּשׁ מִבָּטָם, *they will be disappointed* (or *left in the lurch*) *by Ethiopia to which they looked for help;* —Jer. **2**, 36: גַּם מִמִּצְרַיִם תֵּבֹשִׁי כַּאֲשֶׁר בֹּשְׁתְּ מֵאַשּׁוּר, *thou wilt be disappointed* (or *left in the lurch*) *by Egypt, just as thou hast been disappointed by Assyria*, i.e. Egypt will fail thee, just as

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* Contrast Ez. **36**, 32: בּוֹשׁוּ וְהִכָּלְמוּ מִדַּרְכֵיכֶם, *be ashamed and abashed for your ways.*

† Cf. Syriac phrases like ܐ̈ܠܐܘ ܗܢ ܘ̈ܠܡܩܒܪ, *they were too weary to bury* (the dead). See also note on ה̄, r.

Assyria failed thee;—Jer. **48**, 13:* וּבֹשׁ מוֹאָב מִכְּמוֹשׁ כַּאֲשֶׁר בֹּשׁוּ בֵית
יִשְׂרָאֵל מִבֵּית־אֵל מִבְטֶחָם, *Moab will be disappointed by Chemosh,
just as the Israelites were disappointed by Beth-el wherein they con-
fided,* i.e. Chemosh will not help Moab, just as Beth-el did not help
the Israelites;—Hos. **10**, 6: יֵבוֹשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל מֵעֲצָבָיו, *Israel will be
disappointed by her idols,* her idols will not help her;—Hos. **4**, 19:
יֵבֹשׁוּ מִזִּבְחוֹתָם, *their altars will not help them;*—Is. **1**, 29: תֵּבֹשׁוּ
מֵאֵילִים, *the trees will not help you;*—Jer. **12**, 13: בֹּשׁוּ מִתְּבוּאֹתֵיהֶם,
*they will be disappointed by their crops,* their crops will fail;†—
Zeph. **3**, 11: תֵּבֹשִׁי מִכֹּל עֲלִילוֹתַיִךְ,‡ *all thy deeds will not help thee;*
—Zech. **13**, 4: יֵבֹשׁוּ הַנְּבִיאִים אִישׁ מֵחֶזְיֹנוֹ, *a vision will not help any
of the prophets.*

We need not point יֵבוֹשׁ as Niphal; אֱבוֹשׁ is a form like Arab.
اخال, ixâlu, *I suppose* (WdG **1**, 60, B).

(iv) אֶל יהוה אֱלֹהֵינוּ after מִמְסְגַּרְתֵיהֶם must be inserted at the
beginning of v.

For the pausal form mimmékka, *from thee* (GK § 103, i and m)
cf. aiiékka, *where art thou?* (GK § 100, o) = Assyr. ânúkka; cf.
ânúššu, *where is he?* (HW 48ᵇ). The case endings were originally
accented before the suffixes, and this older accentuation is preserved in
pause. Under the influence of the accent the following consonant was
doubled; cf. Assyr. išabbir = išábir, &c; see AG² §§ 65. 66. 108, e;
VG §§ 41, nn, β; 90, g; EG § 154, b, β.

(v) For אֶל in the clause אֶל יהוה אֱלֹהֵינוּ (see first note on iv) read
אֶת=אַתָּה. For אֶל instead of אֶת see *Kings* 205, 14.

For עַל עָבַר, *to pass over=to disregard, omit to notice* (contrast
Jon. **2**, 4; see AJSL **23**, 256) cf. Prov. **19**, 11; also Am. **7**, 18; **8**, 2. We
need not suppose that עָבַר corresponds to غفر = علىٰ = غَفَمَ (cf. *Kings*
163, 3). ⑮ ὑπερβαίνων ἀσεβείας, ℨ *qui transis peccatum,* ℥ ܡܚܒܠ܂,
ℭ מֵעֲבַר עַל חוֹבִין.

The סוֹף פָּסוּק of v. 18 should be after נַחֲלָתוֹ.

(vi) For הֶחֱזִק read יַחֲזִיק.

The two hemistichs of the second line must be transposed; cf. *Kings*
278, 28. 38. 45; *Nah.* 36, 5; AJSL **22**, 203, n. 17, l. 3.

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*The preceding v. 11 has been explained BL 73, n. 21. The fourth hemistich, which
has been supplanted by the gloss וּבְגוֹלָה לֹא הָלָךְ may have been וְלֹא זָקַק בְּמִסְגָן
(or בְּמִסַגֶּנֶת) *it was not fined* (clarified) *with a straining-cloth,* τρύγοιπος, Arab.
ثُلْم=فُلْم which is derived from فُم, *mouth,* just as נָדָר is derived from גָר; see
third note on ז, vii. For ث = ف cf. JAOS **28**, 118, l. 5.

†Cf. הוֹבִישׁ דָּגָן (גֶּפֶן, תִּירוֹשׁ) Mic. **1**, 17. 12. 10.

‡The prefixed negative is a subsequent insertion; cf. *Kings* 72, 18.

For יכבס (ᵀ וריכבוש על חובנא) read יְכַבֵּס, *He will wash off;* cf. Ps. **51**, 4; Acts **22**, 16 (ἀπόλουσαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου). כבס means originally *to tread,* then *to walk* (German *walken*)=*to full,* French *fouler le drap; walk-mill* (German *Walkmühle*)=*fulling-mill,* French *foulerie;* cf. Mark **9**, 3. See the remarks in my paper *Some Germanic Etymologies* (AJP **27**, 157). For שׁ instead of ס cf. note on א, ζ. The Versions did not understand this word: ᵍ καταδύσει, ᴶ *deponet,* ˢ ܢܒܠܥ.

(vii) is a liturgical appendix.

(α) is scribal expansion; ᵍ has simply ἐξ Αἰγύπτου.

(δ) We need not read in this illustrative quotation (cf. last note on ו, γ) חָטָאתִינוּ; the *our* in ᵍˢᴶ is a harmonizing correction. ᵀ כָּל חטאי ישראל.

For מְצֹלוֹת cf. AJSL **23**, 238, v; 256, α.

<div align="center">ח</div>

(i) הַצֹּלֵעָה וְהַנִּדָּחָה are feminine collectives; see GK § 122, s. צָלַע means *to halt,* not *to be exhausted* (so M following Schulthess) or *to be broken* (ᵍ συντετριμμένος). Also ظلع means *to limp* (غمز في مشية). ᴶ *claudicantem* is correct. The best translation for הַצֹּלֵעָה וְהַנִּדָּחָה would be *the stragglers and strays.* The *strays* are the Jewish apostates at the beginning of the Maccabean period (AJSL **19**, 139, n. 32) who had been drawn away (Deut. **4**, 19; **30**, 17) from Judaism (cf. the Talmudic עיר הנדחת) whereas the *stragglers* (lit. *halters, limpers*) are the Jews who halted between Judaism and Hellenism; they were lukewarm (cf. Rev. **3**, 15) *i.e.* less ardent and enthusiastic than the Maccabees and less orthodox than the הסידים (GJV **1**, 203, n. 44). Originally נדח denotes an *estray,* i.e. an animal which has strayed from the inclosure of its owner (cf. AJSL **19**, 142). צָלַע is an animal that halts and lags behind (cf. German *nachhinken*).* *To halt* means also *to hesitate.* The *halters* hesitated to join the Maccabees; cf. סעפים Ps. **119**, 113 and AJSL **19**, 140, n. 34. 1 K **18**, 21: עד מתי אתם פסחים אל שתי הסעפים means: *How long will ye halt between* (lit. *limp toward*) *the two branches* (sections, sects) *i.e.* the worship of Jʜᴠʜ and the worship of Baal. ᵀ פליגין לתרין פולגוון, ˢ ܦܠܓܝܢ, ᴶ *claudicatis in duas partes. Claudicare* is used also in the sense of *vacillare:* Lucretius says *claudicat axis mundi.* Grotius remarks that *usquequo claudicatis in duas partes?* is equivalent to *quod Graeci dicerent* ἐπαμφοτερίζετε (*alternatis*). *Semel constituendum est quomodo vivendum sit. Alioqui semper fluctuatur.* For עַל in 1 K **18**, 21 we must read אֶל, and סעפים should be written with שׂ; it corresponds to

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*Cf. 1 M **5**, 53: καὶ ἦν Ἰούδας ἐπισυνάγων τοὺς ἐσχατίζοντας (= מְאַחֲרִים).

شُعْبَة, šú‘bah, *branch;* the שׁ in Hebrew is due to partial assimila-
tion of the *b* to the *s;* cf. נֶשֶׁב (נֶפֶשׁ)=נָשַׁב (נָשַׁם) and *Est.* 55, n.*; 57,
last note on ז; see also above, last note on ד.

Some MSS of 𝔊 add to ὑπόλειμμα (ὑπόλιμμα) the attribute διαμένον, *a
lasting remnant.*

For הַנַּחֲלָאָה read, with Grätz, הַנִּלְאָה, fem. part. Niph. of לאה;
cf. ZAT **29,** 282.  Also 𝔍 *eam quae laboraverat* read הַנִּלְאָה.  We
must not read הַנִּדָּחָה (cf. note on בְּמֹת in מ, *u*) or הַפְּחֻלָּה (WN).

(ii) Insertion of בַּגּוֹיִם (cf. ζ) after the first hemistich (𝔊+ἐν τοῖς
ἔθνεσιν, 𝔖 ܥܡܗܐ) would spoil the rhythm.

For כִּרְבִיבִים read כִּרְבִיב יֹרֵד; the omission of the ד after the ר
is due to haplography, and כִּרְבִיב יר became כִּרְבִיבִים.  In Ps. **72,** 6
we must read כִּרְבִיבִים זַרְזִיף מִזְרָח אֶרֶץ instead of כִּרְבִיב זַרְזִיף אֶרֶץ; cf.
ZAT **29,** 286, below.  𝔊 adds πίπτουσα after ὡς δρόσος παρὰ Κυρίου = בַּטַּל
רָבִיב מֵאֵת יְהֹוָה means originally *abundant, copious, profuse.*

𝔊 συναχθῇ read יִקְוֶה instead of יְקָרֵה.

(iii) For the etymology of כְּפִיר see BL 127, below.

In the last line of this triplet we have *enjambement* (*Est.* 31) with
3×2 beats (2+2+2) instead of 2×3 (3+3).  Cf. the first line of א, iii,
and the beginning of Ecclesiastes:

הֲבֵל הֲבָלִים הֲבֵל    הֲבָלִים הֲבֵל הָבֶל:

עבר means here *to leap over* the inclosure (cf. דֹּבֶר Ps. **18,** 30) and
break into the fold.  It cannot be the verb (غبر) from which עֶבְרָה,
*anger* is derived.  Lagarde combined this word with ὕβρις.  Arab.
غبر, g̱ábira, *to be angry* is used of an angry (inflamed) sore.

The ו before רָמַס is the *Waw apodosis;* see *Est.* 16, l. 7.  Cf. also
the last hemistichs of א, iii and ה, vi.

רָמַס in the present passage does not mean *treads down* (𝔍 *concul-
caverit*) but *strikes down with the forefoot;* רָמַס corresponds to رفس
(AJSL **23,** 235, n. 46) *to kick* (رفسه اذا رکضه برجله) or *to strike with
the foot,* in this case *to deal a blow with the paw.*  Also ذفس means *to
paw,* e.g. ذفس الاسد علی الارض, *the lion pawed the ground;* cf.
יַחְפֹּר בָּעֵמֶק Job **39,** 21 (the ו in יַחְפְּרוּ is due to dittography).  For
מ=פ cf. מלט=פלט, נָשַׁם=נָשַׁב; see the conclusion of the first note
on i.  𝔊 has διαστείλας (scil. ταῖς ὄνυξιν) for וַיְרַמֵּס, 𝔖 ܦܣܩ, *cut down,
broke* or *tore in pieces;* cf. ܦܣܩ ܪܝܫܐ ܪܝܫܗ.

For טָרַף 𝔖 uses ܥܙܠ which means not only *to break,* but also *to
tear;* cf. ܥܙܠ ܟܠܒܝܬܐ.

(iv) The suffix in סוּסֶיךָ refers to Assur, *i.e.* the Seleucidan king-
dom; cf. notes on θ. See also *Nah.* 12, below, and 15, x. ⬫ has
סוּסָוָת עֲבִנִי־א; cf. the conclusion of note 24 in AJSL **23**, 230.

Before מִרְכְּבֹתֶיךָ we may insert אֶת (or כָּל) to avoid the clashing
of two beats.

כְּשָׁפִים denotes here the charms and allurements of Hellenic cul-
ture; cf. *Nah.* 10, l. 5; ZDMG **61**, 285, n. 18.

R is right in making the second half of the third line begin with
אֶת־הַגּוֹיִם. For the preposition אֶת (= עִם) cf. Jud. **11**, 27; 2 S **2**, 6.

(v) The omission of וֹ before יִהְיֶה is due to haplography; cf. first
note on vi and last note on δ.

In Is. **2**, 2 נָכוֹן (⬫ ἐμφανές) stands before יִהְיֶה. In the present
passage ⬫ inserts ἐμφανές before τὸ ὄρος τοῦ Κυρίου, although it has ἕτοιμον
after this phrase. The meter shows that נָכוֹן בְּרֹאשׁ הֶהָרִים is correct.

The enclitic הוּא (cf. *Nah.* 20, below) is omitted in Is. The insertion
of הוּא improves the rhythm.

For עָלָיו (⬫ עֲלֹוהִי) read אֵלָיו (Is.). ⅃ *ad eum*, ܣ ܠܗ, ⬫ πρὸς αὐτόν
(but in Is. ἐπ' αὐτό).

Is. has כָּל הַגּוֹיִם instead of עַמִּים, and עַמִּים instead of גּוֹיִם.

The סוֹף פָּסוּק of v. 1 should be after וְהָלְכוּ גּוֹיִם רַבִּים.

(vi) Is. omits וֹ before the second hemistich of the first line; cf. first
note on v.

For יוֹרֵנוּ Is. has יֹרֵנוּ.

מִדְּרָכָיו means *some of His ways;* cf. GK § 119, w, n. 1.

For דְּבַר יְהֹוָה read דְּבָרוֹ; cf. second note on ה, i.

(vii) For עַמִּים רַבִּים Is. has הַגּוֹיִם, and לְעַמִּים רַבִּים for לְגוֹיִם
עֲצֻמִים.

The meter requires חִרְבֹתֵיהֶם, not חַרְבֹתָם (Is.).

וְהִנִּיתִיהֶם should be transposed to the end of the line, after לְאִתִּים
(Is. *plene* וְהִנִּיתוֹתֵיהֶם). אֵת, *ploughshare* may be an Assyrian loan-
word; the stem may be edêdu, *to be sharp* = חָדַד (cf. حدّ السكّين,
ḥadd as-sikkîn, *edge of the knife*) so that אֵת would stand for edt =
edditu, ḥaddatu (*E* 26, 10; 28, f). Cf. the remarks on אֱלוּל = Assyr.
Elûlu for غلول in the second note on וֹ, i. For אֵת, *ploughshare*
= edt cf. אֵת, *with* = idt, fem. of יָד; see *Proverbs* 51, 3. The transla-
tion *colter* is impossible; the Palestinian ploughs have no colters; the
share is merely a stake with a pointed metal sheath (EB 78).—In 2 K **6**, 5
אֶת־הַבַּרְזֶל does not mean *edge of the iron;* see *Kings* 204, 28. In 1 S
**13**, 20 אֶת־מַחֲרֵשָׁתוֹ is a gloss to אֶת־אֵתוֹ, and וְאֵת מַחֲרֵשָׁתוֹ, at the
end of the verse, is a variant to this gloss; cf. notes on ב, γγ. δδ. The
text of the following verse may have been originally: וְהָיְתָה הַפְּצִירָה
בַּפְלִשְׁתִּים לָאִתִּים וְלֹק־דָמִים; the other words are tertiary glosses.

פִּים may be a corruption of בְּפִלְשְׁתִּים.—The noun הַפְּצִירָה is supported
by ൠ ὁ τρυγητός=הַבָּצִיר, but it is a transposition of פְּרִיצָה, from פְּרִי
which corresponds to فرض, *to notch* (for transposed doublets see
conclusion of first note on i). In the present passage this word has the
privative meaning (ZAT **29**, 282, n. 1) *to remove notches* (Arab. فل, fáll
or ثُلْمَة, túlmah) or saw-like teeth. Similarly حرّ, ḥázza means *to
notch*, and the second form (خرّي) has the meaning *to sharpen*. Arab.
ثلم means *to make a notch* and *to make a breach*, Heb. פְּרִי. French
*brèche* means both *notch* and *breach; a gapped knife* is a *couteau
ébréché*. The *unnotching* (French *chapler*, German *dengeln* which is
connected with English *ding*=to strike, beat) was done with a hammer
(cf. לטש in v. 20).—קִלְשׁוֹן may be a corruption of קִלְקֵל שִׁנּוֹת, and
this may be a gloss to פְּרִיצָה=פְּצִירָה. For the fem. pl. שִׁנּוֹת see
GK § 87, o. Similarly we have in Syriac: ܫܸܢܵܐ and ܫܸܢܵܐ, and in Assyrian:
šinnâ or šinnâti (HW 676[b]). ൠ read שֵׁן, *tooth* instead of שׁוּר. For
קִלְקֵל cf. Eccl. **10**, 10 and the Šaphel (cf. AJSL **23**, 248) صقل (for صقل;
cf. GB xvii). Similarly the Aramaic loanword ܫܟܠ, *to sharpen* is a
Šaphel of חדד.

לֹא יִשָּׂא (Is.) is preferable to לֹא יִשֹּׁאוּ.
For גּוּר עַל גּוּר אֶל גּוּר read גּוּר עַל גּוּר; ܒܡܢ ܥܠ ܒܡܢ.
Is. has יְלַבִּדוּ instead of יִלְמְדוּן.
(viii) This triplet is not found in Is.
(β) Cf. ב, δ. The addition of ו may be due to Zeph. **3**, 19, where we
read וְהוֹשַׁעְתִּי אֶת הַצֹּלֵעָה וְהַנִּדָּחָה אֲקַבֵּץ; cf. note on π. R's con-
jecture וְאֶת אֲשֶׁר הֲרֵעֹתִי, *et felix reddetur quod afflixi* would not
suit the meter.
(δ) We need not read (with WNM) כֻּלּוֹ (ൠ כֻּלְּהוֹן) instead of כֻּלָּךְ,
although we have אֲשִׂימֵמֹּו in the third line; cf. notes on ה, ε; ט, i.
We cannot read בַּצִּירָה (so NM, following Wetzstein)=בְּטִירָה;
if we find טִירֹת in Gen. **25**, 16; Num. **31**, 10; Ez. **25**, 4; Ps. **69**, 26;
1 Chr. **6**, 39, we can hardly expect צִירָה in the present passage; cf.
צֵן=טֵן in note on ב, iv. מְקוֹם בְּצוּר=בָצְרָה. The name of the
capital of the Edomites, בָּצְרָה, means עִיר מִבְצָר; cf. the remarks on
עֲדֻלָּם in the notes on ב, vi. Σ Θ have ἐν ὀχυρώματι; but ൠ read
בְּצָרָה, *in need* (ἐν θλίψει, ܟܠܒܟܢ). בָצְרָה in the present passage
stands for בְּבָצְרָה; before a noun beginning with ב the preposition ב
is often omitted; cf. note on ה, κ.
The Versions mistook עֹפֶל for אֹפֶל, *darkness;* ൠ αὐχμώδης=αὐχμηρός
which means not only *dry*, but also (*e.g.* 2 Pet. **1**, 19) *dark;\** ᾽Α, σκοτώδης,

*\*Preuschen, *Handwörterbuch* (Giessen, 1910) col. 186 quotes τόπος αὐχμηρότατος from
the Apocalypse of Peter (21).

ℨ *nebulosa*, ܐ ܟ̈ܡܐ, 𝔗 טְבִיר . Cf. 𝔊 ὄψεται (=רָאָה) instead of ποιμανεῖ (=רְעֵה) in 5, 3. עֹפֶל is connected with Assyr. אבל (or rather אֱבֶל) *to be full* (HW 7) and Arab. عبل = خُمّ (ZDMG **61**, 294, l. 28)* or حفل (cf. حفل الوادى بالسيل). Also in Arabic we find حبل , *hábila* (with *b*) *to be full, pregnant*=מָלֵאָה Eccl. **11**, 5; also *full of wrath* (غضب). Cf. Assyr. ina malî libbâti, libbâti imtâlî (HW 366^b) and הִתְמְלִי חֵמָא Dan. **3**, 19; also BA **1**, 131. For uštâbil instead of uštâpil see BAL 103, and for *â* instead of *ê* cf. *Kings* 163, 4. The noun עֳפָלִים , *pestilential buboes* (not=טְחֹרִים , *piles, hemorrhoids*) is compared in BDB with Assyr. ublu (or rather uplu, syn. malû). For ع=ح cf. note on בְּחִי in ℨ, *v* and חֹב , *bosom* (Job **31**, 33)=Aram.

עֲבָא ; ܚܨܳܕ , *haçâd, harvester*=𐡒𐡑𐡃 ; (more correctly 𐡒𐡑𐡃 ;)= Assyr. eldu for eçdu, eçidu, haçadu (ASKT 68, 5; BAL 95).

עֹפֶל means originally *filling*, then *leveled platform* in which the cavities in the ground are filled, just as we use *filling* for the raised embankment of a railroad. The Assyr. term is mullû (cf. Targ. מִלֵּיתָא , *embankment, rampart*) or tamlû (HW 411^b) or kûmu (AJSL **26**, 24, n. 59). עֹפֶל denotes the southeastern portion of the Ḥaram aš-šarîf, containing the palace of Solomon &c, whereas מִלֹּא seems to designate the northwestern area with the Temple. The areas of the Solomonic Temple and Palace were, of course, much smaller than the present Ḥaram aš-šarîf. Cf. the cut on p. 212 of the second edition of Benzinger's *Hebr. Archäologie*.

For אֶפְרָתָה צָעִיר read, with R, Hitzig, N, אֶפְרָת הַצָּעִיר ; cf. notes on א, ii. For אֶפְרָת see ZAT **29**, 284, n. 7.

צָעִיר means *young* (Assyr. çixru) not *small*. The House of Ephrath (David's clan) was *junger Adel*. David was a *parvenu*, whereas Saul was of ancient and honorable lineage. The statement in 1 S **17**, 12, that David's father was an elder (שيخ=זָקֵן) among men,† *i. e.* the head of one of the leading families,‡ is derived from a late (midrashic) source (after 400 B.C.). 𝔊 ὀλιγοστός means not only *least*, but also *one of a few, rare, almost unique;* contrast πολλοστός, *one of many, common.* The version which we find in Matt. **2**, 6 (καὶ σύ, Βηθλεεμ γῆ Ιουδα, οὐδαμῶς ἐλαχίστη εἶ ἐν ἡγεμόσιν Ιουδα· ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ ἐξελεύσεται ἡγούμενος ὅστις ποιμανεῖ τὸν λαόν μου τὸν Ισραηλ) is unwarranted.

אֲלָפִים means *clans;* so, too, in 1 S **23**, 23.

For יְהוּדָה see ZAT **29**, 284, n. 6.

*The translation of šatâ qê ittûti, *they were webbed* (covered) *with cobwebs* is explained in AJSL **26**, 12, below.

†בָא before בָאֲנָשִׁים is dittography; so Hitzig, Driver, Löhr.

‡Cf. 1 S **16**, 4.

לְבֶן = לְ־ Is. 9, 5; see OLZ **12**, 67, n. 1; cf. also AJSL **20**. 164; **23**, 258.

For יֵצֵא read יֵצֵא; cf. third note on ט, i. The patriotic poem from which this triplet is quoted was written after the birth of Zerubbabel about 538 B.C. (see OLZ **12**, 67, n. 1).

ᴳ καὶ ὄψεται καὶ ποιμανεῖ for וְרֹעֶה is a doublet; ὄψεται (= רֹאֶה, cf. the remarks on the reading אֵבֶל for עֵבֶל in **4**, 8) is the original rendering, and ποιμανεῖ a subsequent correction.

For יִגְדֹּל read וְיִגְדַּל; cf. first note on v.

(ζ) Cf. the last but one note on v and the first note on vii. ᴳ �ᴳ read בָּגְרִים also before the second hemistich of ii. Insertion of בָּגְרִים would spoil the rhythm. ᴛ has בָּגְרִים=בְּעַמְמִיָא in iii, but not in ii.

(η) We need not, with WNM, read תָּרֵם (ᴳ ὑψωθήσεται, ᴶ exaltabitur) instead of תֹּרֵם; in a gloss the jussive is quite appropriate.

(θ) For this gloss (a quotation from a Maccabean patriotic poem) cf. my paper *The religion of the Hebrew prophets* in TOCR **1**, 268. For the etymology of אַשּׁוּר see JAOS **28**, 117; cf. also *Pur.* 40, 22 and Delitzsch's third lecture on *Babel and Bible* (Stuttgart, 1905) n. 42. אַשּׁוּר is here the name of the country, not of the god; cf. the last line of this triplet and contrast W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites* (1894) p. 92, n. 2. ᴳᴬᴹ have Ἀσσύριος instead of Ασσουρ, ᴶ *Assyrius*, ᴛ אַתּוּרָאָה, ᴮ ܐܬܘܪ. אַשּׁוּר denotes here *Syria*, i.e. the Seleucidan kingdom which is called in Ps. **137**, 8 (OLZ **10**, 65) בַּת בָּבֶל. In Nah. **3**, 7, it is called *Nineveh;* see *Nah.* 10, 23; ZDMG **61**, 285, n. 17, and cf. شام=*Damascus* (AJSL **26**, 26) and *Syria*, مصر (cf. second note on ג, λ)=*Cairo* (القاهرة مصر) and *Egypt*.

For בְּאַרְמְנוֹתֵינוּ (ᴛ בְּבִירְנְיָתָא, cf. *Est.* 7; ᴮ ܚܣܝܢܐ, cf. Assyr. sixirtu, HW 495ᵇ) read (with RNM, following ᴳ ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ὑμῶν) בְּאַדְמַתְנוּ. This emendation is favored even by Ryssel (but not by W). The original form of אַרְמוֹן may have been אַדְמוֹן; see ZDMG **61**, 194, l. 12; **63**, 526, l. 47.

הֲקִמֹנוּ (GK § 72, i) had better be pointed הֲקִמֹנוּ.

נְסִיכֵי אָדָם must not be explained according to GK § 128, l (so NM). It means simply *leaders of men*, Assyr. nasîke nišê; it has about the same meaning as the Homeric ποιμένες λαῶν. ᴛ רַבְרְבֵי אֲנָשָׁא, ᴮ ܘܪܘܪ̈ܒܢܝ̈; but ᴳ δήγματα ἀνθρώπων, confounding נסך (=Assyr. nasâku, *to appoint*, HW 472ᵃ) with נשׁך, *to bite*. For confusion of שׁ and ס cf. note on א, ζ. The translators may have used δήγματα ἀνθρώπων in the sense of *incisive*, German *schneidig;* cf. also צְנִינִים Num. **33**, 55; Josh. **23**, 13.

וְרֹעַ must be accented וְרֹעַ, not וְרֹעַ; it is not derived from רעה, but from רעע=רצץ, Arab. رض, rádda (=dáqqa, járaša,

(دق وجرش). 𝔊 ποιμανοῦσιν, 𝔍 *pascent;* but ⵐ ܣܠܒ, from רעע; for the ו cf. Nöldeke's *Syr. Gr.*[2], § 35. ⵐ uses the same form (ܣܠܒ) in 4, 3, for וְכִתְּתוּ. Also in Ps. 2, 9 (JHUC, No. 163, 91[a]) 𝔊 has ποιμανεῖς αὐτούς (=תִּרְעֵם) for תְּרֹעֵם, *thou wilt shatter them.*

אֶרֶץ נִמְרֹד = *Babylonia* (Gen. 10, 10) *i.e.* the Seleucidan kingdom; see above, note on אַשּׁוּר. For *Nimrod* cf. AJSL **19**, 199, n. *; **26**, 24, n. 60; ZAT **30**, 36.

For בִּפְתָחֶיהָ read בַּפְּתִיחָה, 𝔍 *in lanceis;* cf. פְּתִחוֹת, *drawn swords,* Ps. **55**, 22; also Ez. **21**, 33 and Ps. **37**, 14.

(λ) For אַשִּׁירֵךְ read אַשֻּׁרֵךְ; the י was added in order to prevent the reading אַשְׁרֵךְ, *hail to thee!* Cf. the remarks on יְשֵׁינִם (Cant. 5, 2) in BL 33, n. 18.*

We must not substitute (with S t e i n e r and NM) עֹצְבֵּךְ for עָרֵךְ; the Maccabees destroyed a good many Hellenistic cities in Palestine; cf. *e.g.* 1 M **5**, 68; **10**, 84; **11**, 61; **16**, 10; also ט which glorifies John Hyrcanus' destruction of Samaria about 107 B.C.

(ν) This gloss is found also in Is. **2**, 3, but it is superfluous; cf. note on א, ρρ·

(ο) This gloss does not appear in Is. The glossator may have thought of 1 M **8**, 19; **12**, 1, 2. To be sure, the Maccabees did not dictate any terms to the Romans or Spartans.

(π) This is a scribal expansion derived from Joel **4**, 10. For the etymology of בִּזְמֹר see AJSL **26**, 1.

(α) For הַדְבָרוֹ read הַדֹּבֵר; cf. Is. **5**, 17. The final ו may be prefixed to gloss *b;* it may be explained also as dittography of the ר (cf. note on הָאָמוּר in ב, αα) or הַדֹּבֵר may have been written *plene* הַדּוֹבֵר, and the ו transposed.

(*b*) For תְהִימֶנָה read תְּהִימֶנָּה, *thou wilt make her* (the city) *hum,* from הום; cf. *Nah.* 44; ZDMG **61**, 295, l. 7. תְּהִימֶנָּה מֵאָדָם is equivalent to תְּמֻלָּאנָּה הֲמוֹן אָדָם; cf. כָל הֲמוֹן יִשְׂרָאֵל 2 S **6**, 19 and הֲמוֹן הוֹגֶג Ps. **42**, 5; הָמוֹן is derived from הום; see second note on ב, i. For Masoretic endorsements of manifest textual errors (בּ instead of פּ; contrast second note on ו, vi) cf. *Est.* 40, l. 4. The reading תֶּהֱמַיְנָה (WNM) is not good. 𝔍 *tumultuabuntur a multitudine homi-num.* Cf. Zech. **2**, 8. 15; **8**, 4–8. 20–23.

For מִן, *in consequence of* see GB 429[a], g.

*For the difficult passage in Cant. **7**, 10 מְדֹובֵב שִׂפְתֵי יְשֵׁנִים, *causing the lips of sleepers to pine for it* (from דָּאֵב = דְּוֵב) we have a good parallel in the story *Wayfarers* by T h o m a s C h e s w o r t h, reprinted (from the *Gentleman's Magazine*) in the New York weekly *Short Stories,* vol. xlvi, No. 2 (May, 1902). We read there (p. 187): *I wondered if it were the Vizier's place. That personage was long ago abed, probably smacking lips of slumber over the succulent joys of the last meal.* Cf. Cant. 29.

(c) The emendation בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל (WN) is gratuitous; for בֵּית=בַּת cf. *Est.* 20.

(d) Ryssel thinks that בָּאָה is the original text, and תֵּאָתֶה a gloss. N places וּבָאָה before מַמְלֶכֶת.

(e) For מַמְלֶכֶת read (with M) הַמַּמְלָכָה; the omission of the article is due to haplography. Ꮐ adds ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος; cf. Zech. **6**, 10. The statement (M) that Ꮐ has ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος instead of מַמְלֶכֶת is incorrect.

(f) is a later addition; David was not born at Beth-lehem; cf. OLZ **12**, 65. Ꮐ καὶ σὺ Βηθλεεμ οἶκος Εφραθα suggests that Βηθλεεμ is a gloss to οἶκος Εφραθα (so RWMN).

(g) is vertical dittography of לִהְיוֹת in the hemistich below.

(h) בִּימֵי עוֹלָם is a quaternary gloss; without this addition מִקֶּדֶם might be taken to mean *in the east;* cf. ב, aa.

(i) לָכֵן (ℭ בְּכֵן, ᵴ ܡܟܝܠ) means here *verily thus;* cf. first note on ג, v. 'The conjecture לְבַד is gratuitous.

נָתַן means here *to sell* (into slavery or bondage). Cf. 1 K **14**, 16; Joel **4**, 3. In Assyrian contracts nadânu, *to give* is the common expression for *to sell*, whereas maxâru, *to receive* (cf. מְחִיר, *price*) means *to buy.*

For עַל read אֶל.

(l) For וְיָשְׁבוּ (Σ, κατοικήσουσι) read וְיָשִׁבוּ; so ℭ (וִיתוּבוּן) and several Hebrew MSS. Ꮠ *et convertentur*, ᵴ ܡܬܦܢܝܢ. יָשִׁבוּ cannot stand for יֵשְׁבוּ בָטַח (so WNM).

(m) זֶה refers to the ruler-to-be (Zerubbabel). Cf. AJSL **23**, 224, η; *Pur.* 2, 41.

(n) This is based on the repetition of כִּי in o.

(o) is a variant (cf. notes on ב, γγ. δδ) or correction, with repetition of כִּי and בִּגְבוּלֵינוּ instead of בְּאַרְמְנֹתֵינוּ or rather אַדְמָתֵנוּ. For the position of this variant at the end of this quotation see *Pur.* 47, 41.

(q) Ꮐ τὸν Ασσουρ read simply אֶת אַשּׁוּר; אֶרֶץ is repeated from the second hemistich; cf. א, ππ.

(r) The מ prefixed to אַשּׁוּר must be appended to הַצִּיל (הַצִּילַם). ℭ וְרִישִׁיזְבִינָנָא, ᵴ ܡܦܨܐ. This מ cannot be explained according to GK § 119, y (so ℭᵴ). Cf. end of third paragraph of note on ז, iii.

<center>ט</center>

(i) The suffixes of the third person in כֻּלְּכֶם* and מַלְאָה after the preceding vocatives עַמִּים and אֶרֶץ are not exceptional; cf. notes on ה, ε; ח, δ and Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*², § 350, C; GK § 135, r; cf. also יְחֶדְיוּ=יְחַדָּם; see my article *The Language of Nimrod the Kashite* in the *Andover Review*, July, 1884, p. 96, n. 1.

* Cf. the gloss in 1 K **22**, 28: שִׁמְעוּ עַמִּים כֻּלָּם ; see *Kings* 173, 15.

𝔊 λόγους did not read מִלִּים instead of כֻּלָּם ; λόγους is merely an explanatory addition, and πάντας = כֻּלָּם is omitted, because בִּלְאָהּ is rendered by πάντες οἱ ἐν αὐτῇ (so Ryssel).

For יֵצֵא point יָצָא ; this hymn was written after the destruction of Samaria about 107 B.C. (GJV 1, 268). It is not a prophecy which was afterward fulfilled by John Hyrcanus (*Est.* 28). The passage in Joseph. *Ant.* **13,** 10, 3 is based on the present psalm. Cf. note on יֵצֵא at the end of the notes on ה, δ; also note on הֹלֵךְ (2, 11) in ב, *aa,* and below, first note on iii. The preterites וַיֵּרֶד וְדָרַךְ after the participle יֹצֵא are impossible; we might say וְיֹרֵד וְדֹרֵךְ . . . . . יֵצֵא, but not *vice versâ.*

The Qᵉrê בָּמֳתֵי (GK § 95, o) is not good; we must read בָּמוֹתֵי with recession of the accent owing to the following אָרֶץ. The double plural ending in בָּמוֹתֵי = Assyr. bâmâtê (cf. last note on ד) must be explained in the same way as in מֵימֵי ; cf. *Kings* 200, 18.

(ii) N's transposition of the second and third hemistichs is not good; both hemistichs of the second line refer to the first hemistich of the first line; the second hemistich of this couplet is a parenthetical circumstantial clause: *Beneath Him the mountains melted* (while vales were cleft) *like wax before the fire, like water falling over a declivity* (lit. *descent).* This refers, of course, to streams of lava; cf. ZDMG **63,** 520, n. 36. The mountains melt like wax, and the molten rocks flow down like a waterfall.

After וְהָעֲמָקִים there is a pause; cf. first note on ו, ii and BL xv.

For דּוֹנַג in the absolute state we had better point דּוֹנָג. This Qâmeç merely indicates an accented short *a;* cf. *Est.* 8 (מִשְׁחָת).

מֻגָּרִים is not derived from נָגַר, as is generally supposed, or from גָּרַר = Assyr. garâru ša mê (HW 204) = Arab. جرى لماء, as W suggests. It is the participle Pual of מָגַר, *to fall.* The omission of the prefixed מְ in מַיִם מְמֻגָּרִים may be due to haplography; cf. כְּהֵם מֻקָּשִׁים = כְּהֵם יוֹקְשִׁים Eccl. **9,** 12, also GK § 52, s. The verb מָגַר, *to fall,* said of the water, is more poetic than נָגַר, *to flow;* on the other hand, נָגַר, *to flow,* said of the stones in iii, is more poetic than מָגַר, *to fall.* 𝔊 καταφερόμενον means *falling.* Aram. מְגַר, *to exterminate* is a transposed doublet (cf. last note on ד) of גְּמַר ; cf. *Est.* 55, n. *.

(iii) For וְשַׂמְתִּי (𝔊 θήσομαι) and וְהִגַּרְתִּי (𝔊 κατασπάσω) read וְשַׁבְתִּי and וְהִגַּרְתִּי ; cf. note on יֵצֵא in i.

For לְעִי הַשָּׂדֶה read לְעֻנָּה (שׂדה). For the affixing of the prefixed ה contrast first note on א, ii, and for the substitution of ו for י cf. note

on בּ, π. שׂדֶה is a gloss derived from ר, ii. For עֻנָּה cf. Ez. **21**, 32:
עֻנָּה עֻוָּה אַשׂ-ימֶנָּה (GK § 133, l) and OLZ **11**, 238; see also **10**, 307.
𝔊 (ὀπωροφυλάκιον;* see the cut on p. 162 of the translation of *Isaiah* in
SBOT) may have read עֻוֻרָה, deriving it from עוּר, *to be awake.* עֻוֻרָה
would be a form like בּוּשׂה or נוּבְיה. For עֻוֻרָה instead of עֻנָּה cf.
קוּרֵי- (Is. **59**, 5) instead of קַוֵי; see AJSL **26**, 10 (GB xviiᵇ). The
emendations לְשׂדֶה (M) and לְיער הַשׂדֶה (WN) instead of לְעִיר הַשׂדֶה
are not good.

We must not (with WN) substitute אֲשֵׁרֶיהָ for אתנניהָ. The
אתננים are the ἀναθήματα in the Hellenistic city of Samaria (GJV **2**,
41. 195). For אתנן=מַתְּנָן=מתנן, from נתן, cf. אמתחת=מִמְתַחַת and
*Kings* 86, 10; *Nah.* 31, 18.

(α) For לֹעֵד cf. Zeph. **3**, 8.

(δ) We need not (with WNM) read the singular הַטּאת instead of
הַטּאות, following 𝔊 διὰ ἁμαρτίαν. The construct state הַטּאות must be
read xaṭṭôt; the plural xaṭṭa'ôt was shortened in the construct state to
xaṭṭĕ'ôt, and this was contracted to xaṭṭôt; cf. note on שׂאֵרִם in א, ii.

Nor need we read (with Sebök, WN) יהוּדָה instead of ישׂראל; the
glossator referred the glorification of the destruction of Samaria in
107 B.C. to the capture of Samaria in 721. Contrast last note on גּ, v.

(u) WNM regard this tertiary gloss to a Maccabean psalm (which
was composed about 107 B.C.) as the beginning of Micah's genuine
prophecies, but it is a very late gloss, like the gloss at the beginning of
the Book of Ezekiel, in which words of the text are quoted and explained;
see *Ezekiel* 41, 26 . 27.

For בְי (𝔊 τίς) we must, with W, substitute מֶה. בְי would be
intelligible if we read בְי הַפְשִׁיע instead of פשׁע (הַפְשִׁיע=הַחְטִיא).
We cannot read בְי יפְשִׁיע in this connection; otherwise בְי פשׁע
might be explained as haplography for בְי יפְשִׁיע. It is not impossible
that בְי in this very late gloss represents the Aram. מָאי=בְיי=בְי
*what?* which we find in the Palestinian Talmud; cf. Dalman's grammar
(Leipzig, 1905), p. 119. This מָאי is a contraction of מָה הִיא; אמָאי,
*why?* corresponds to the Assyr. ammîni (HW 407ᵃ)=ana mîni; cf.
AJSL **22**, 251. 259; BA **1**, 17. Contrast Margolis' *Manual of the
Aramaic Language of the Babylonian Talmud* (Munich, 1910) § 6, b.
𝔗 (אירכא) took בְי in the sense of *where?* also J. D. Michaelis (1782)
translated *wo?* Cf. also Dalman's *Wörterbuch*, pp. 22ᵃ. 223ᵃ.

We must not (with WNM) substitute הַטּאת בֵית for בָמות; this
refers to בָמות- ארץ in i. This obvious correction (𝔊 καὶ τίς ἡ ἁμαρτία

*It is true that 𝔊 has this rendering also in ר, ii; Ps. **79**, 1; 𝔊ᴬᴹ render so also in
Jer. **26**, 18, whereas 𝔊ⱽ has ἄβατον. 𝔖 has in the present passage ܒ݁ܝ݂ܬ݁ ܚ݂ܩ݂ܠܐ, i.e.
ܒ݁ܝ݂ܬ݁ ܚ݂ܩ݂ܠܐ, *field-house*, not ܚ݂ܩ݂ܠܐ ܕ݁ܒ݂ܝ݂ܬ݁, or rather ܚ݂ܩ݂ܠܐ ܕ݁ܒ݂ܝ݂ܬ݁; cf. AJSL **19**, 134.

οἶκου Ιουδα, ܫ ܩܝܘܕܐ ... ) is just as gratuitous as the emendation הַנֶּהֱרָךָ instead of הַנִּלְאָה in ח, i. חֶטְאַת בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל would never have been corrupted to בָּמוֹת יְהוּדָה; cf. AJSL **22**, 197, l. 15. בָּמוֹת is supported by ܫ[H] ... , Σ, τὰ ὑψηλά, 𝔍 *excelsa*.

We must not (with WNM) read קָבֻצּוּ for קָבְצָה or, in pause, קָבָצָה (not קֻבְּצָה!). The subject is the city of Samaria. 𝔊 συνήγαγεν, but 𝔍 *congregata sunt*, ܫ ... , 𝔗 אִתְכַּנְשׁוּ.

(i) 𝔊 χιμάρων πιόνων (𝔍 *hircorum pinguium*) for נַחֲלֵי שָׁמֵן seems to be a corruption of χειμάρρων. ܫ ... is a corruption of ... = 𝔗 נַחֲלִין דְּמַשַׁח (R). The characters ., ., and ג are easily confounded; cf. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*[2], §2, C. ... is the Greek μόσχος.

(ii) פִּשְׁעִי does not mean *for my sin* (𝔊 ὑπὲρ ἀσεβείας, 𝔍 *pro scelere meo*, 𝔗 הֵלֶךְ חוֹבִי) but *as my sin-offering*, and חַטָּאת has the same meaning; ὑπέρ is omitted before ἀσεβείας in 𝔊[VA].

(iii) We need not read הֻגַּד, following 𝔊 ἀνηγγέλη σοι, instead of הִגִּיד; for this impersonal construction see *Est*. 33, l. 3. Nor can we omit יְהוָה in the second hemistich and read דֹּרֵשׁ as perf. pass. Qal; cf. GK §52, c.

For אֲהֲבַת read אֲהָבָה; cf. Prov. **10**, 12; 1 Pet. **4**, 8. For the construct state אֲהֲבַת before חֶסֶד cf. the remarks on כְּחֶשׁ־פֶּרֶק *Nah.* 23. In the same way we may read עֲנָוַת־צֶדֶק for עֲנָוה־צֶדֶק in Ps. **45**, 5.

וְהַצְנֵעַ־לֶכֶת must be read uĕ-haçné‘-läkt (λεχθ). צנע corresponds to Arab. ضرع, ḍári‘a or ḍáru‘a (= وذل ‎, خضع ‎, xáḍa‘a ua-ḏálla). For the interchange of *n* and *r* cf. *Est.* 10 (*ad* **1**, 8).

(β) כִּי אִם is omitted in ܫ.

(γ) is a gloss to אֲהָבָה. The term אֲהָבָה is preferable to חֶסֶד, just as RV *love* is preferable to AV *charity* in 1 Cor. **13**. Both F r a n z D e l i t z s c h and S a l k i n s o n - G i n s b u r g have there אֲהָבָה for ἀγάπη. In John **15**, 13 even AV has *love*. אֲהָבָה = *love*, here especially *brotherly love*, craving for the welfare of another person; חֶסֶד = *kindness*, good-will, benevolence;* אֲהֲבַת־חֶסֶד = *loving-kindness*.

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*Aram. ... *to revile, insult* is a privative Piel; it means originally *to treat unkindly*. Cf. the remarks on وخش‎ = יחשׁ in AJSL **26**, 2 (GB xv). S c h u l t h e s s' *erster etymologischer Versuch* in ZAT **30**, 61 is no success. The differentiation of ... with ذ (חֶסְדָּא) *kindness* and ... with د (חִסָּדָא) *unkindness* is secondary. For privative meanings cf. last note on ב, iii and note on ב, ρ.

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ט

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יָשׁוּבוּ׃

י

i   6, 6    בַּמָּה אֲקַדֵּם יהוה      אִכַּף לֵאלֹהֵי מָרוֹם

הַאֲקַדְּמֶנּוּ בְעוֹלוֹת      בַּעֲגָלִים בְּנֵי שָׁנָה׃

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הַאֶתֵּן בְּכוֹרִי פִּשְׁעִי      פְּרִי־בִטְנִי חַטַּאת נַפְשִׁי׃

iii   8    הִגִּיד־לְךָ אָדָם מַה־טּוֹב      וּמַה־יְהוָה דּוֹרֵשׁ מִמְּךָ

[β]עֲשׂוֹת מִשְׁפָּט וְאַהֲבָה[γ]      וְהַצְנֵעַ־לֶכֶת עִם אֱלֹהֶיךָ׃

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(α)   6, 7    יהוה                    (β) 8 כִּי אִם                  (γ) חֶסֶד

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| וְהַאֲבַדְתִּי אֶת־מַרְכְּבֹתֶיךָ׃ᵏ | ⁱⁱⁱᵛ 9 וְהִכְרַתִּי סוּסֶיךָ מִקִּרְבֶּךָ |
| וּמְעוֹנְנִים לֹא יִהְיוּ־לָךְ׃ᵏ | 11 וְהִכְרַתִּי כְשָׁפִים מִיָּדֶךָ |
| אֶת־הַגּוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר־לֹא שָׁמֵעוּ׃ | 14 וְעָשִׂיתִי בְּאַףᵘ נָקָם |

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| וְהָיָה הַר־בֵּית יְהֹוָה | B v 4,1 וְהָיָה בְּאַחֲרִית הַיָּמִים |
| וְנִשָּׂא־הוּא מִגְּבָעוֹת | נָכוֹן בְּרֹאשׁ הֶהָרִים |
| וְהָלְכוּ גּוֹיִם רַבִּים׃ʲ | וְנָהֲרוּ אֵלָיו עַמִּים | |

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| וְאֶל־בֵּית אֱלֹהֵי יַעֲקֹב | vi 2 וְנַעֲלֶה אֶל־הַר יְהֹוָה |
| וְנֵלְכָה בְּאֹרְחֹתָיו | וְיֹרֵנוּ מִדְּרָכָיו |
| וּדְבַר־יְהֹוָהⁱ מִירוּשָׁלָםִ׃ | כִּי־מִצִּיּוֹן תֵּצֵא תוֹרָה |

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| וְהוֹכִיחַ לְגוֹיִם עֲצֻמִים° | vii 3 וְשָׁפַט בֵּין־עַמִּים רַבִּים |
| וַחֲנִיתֹתֵיהֶם {לְאִתִּים}ᵖ | וְכִתְּתוּ חַרְבֹתֵיהֶם {} |
| וְלֹא־יִלְמְדוּן עוֹד מִלְחָמָה׃ | לֹא־יִשָּׂא גוֹי־עַל־גּוֹי חֶרֶב |

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|---|---|
| וְתַחַת־תְּאֵנָתוֹ וְאֵין־מַחֲרִידᵖ | viii 4 וְיָשְׁבוּ אִישׁ תַּחַת־גַּפְנוֹ |
| אִישׁ בְּשֵׁם אֱלֹהָיו | 5 כִּי־כָל־הָעַמִּים יֵלְכוּ |
| אֱלֹהֵינוּˢ לְעוֹלָם וָעֶד׃ | וַאֲנַחְנוּ נֵלֵךְ בְּשֵׁם |

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9 (ι) וְהָיָה בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא נְאֻם יְהֹוָה

10 (κ) וְהִכְרַתִּי עָרֵי אַרְצֶךָ           וְהָרַסְתִּי כָּל־מִבְצָרֶיךָ׃

12 (λ) וְהִכְרַתִּי פְסִילֶיךָ וּמַצֵּבוֹתֶיךָ מִקִּרְבֶּךָ וְלֹא תִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה עוֹד לְמַעֲשֵׂה יָדֶיךָ׃

13 וְנָתַשְׁתִּי אֲשֵׁירֶיךָ מִקִּרְבֶּךָ וְהִשְׁמַדְתִּי עָרֶיךָ           (μ) 14 וּבְחֵמָה

4, 2 (ν) וְאָמְרוּ לְכוּ ו   (ξ) יְהֹוָה   (ο) 3 עַד־רָחוֹק   (π) לְמַזְמֵרוֹת

4 (ρ) כִּי פִי יְהֹוָה צְבָאוֹת דִּבֵּר           (σ) 5 יְהֹוָה

ח

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|---:|---:|
| אֲקַבְּצָה [β]אֲשֶׁר הֲרֵעֹתִי: | [a]אֹסְפָה הַצֹּלֵעָה וְהַנִּדָּחָה | 4,6   i   A |
| וְהַנַּהֲלָאָה לְגוֹי עָצוּם | וְשַׂמְתִּי אֶת־הַצֹּלֵעָה לִשְׁאֵרִית | 7 |
| בְּהַר צִיּוֹן [γ]עַד־עוֹלָם: [δ] | וּמָלַךְ יְהוָה עֲלֵיהֶם | |
| | | |
| בְּקֶרֶב עַמִּים רַבִּים | וְהָיָה שְׁאֵרִית יַעֲקֹב | 5,6   ii |
| כִּרְבִיבִים עֲלֵי־עֵשֶׂב | כְּטַל מֵאֵת יְהוָה | |
| וְלֹא יְיַחֵל לִאְֿדָם: | אֲשֶׁר־לֹא יְקַוֶּה לְאִישׁ | |
| | | |
| בְּקֶרֶב עַמִּים רַבִּים [ζ] | וְהָיָה שְׁאֵרִית יַעֲקֹב | 7   iii |
| כִּכְפִיר בְּעֶדְרֵי צֹאן | כְּאַרְיֵה בְּבַהֲמוֹת יָעַר | |
| וְרָמַס וְטָרַף   וְאֵין מַצִּיל: [η][ϑ] | אֲשֶׁר אִם־עָבַר | |

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| 7 מֵעַתָּה ו [γ] | ר [β] | בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא נְאֻם יְהוָה | 4,6 (α) |
|---:|---:|---:|---:|
| | יַעֲקֹב כֻּלָּךְ | אָסֹף אֶאֱסֹף | 2,12 (δ) |
| | שְׁאֵרִית יִשְׂרָאֵל | קַבֵּץ אֲקַבֵּץ | |
| | כְּצֹאן בְּבָצְרָה [ba] | יַחַד אֲשִׂימֶנּוּ | |
| | עֹפֶל בַּת־צִיּוֹן | וְאַתָּה מִגְדַּל־עֵדֶר | 4,8 |
| | הַמֶּמְשָׁלָה הָרִאשֹׁנָה [e] {} | עָדֶיךָ {[c]} תֵּאָתֶה [d] | |
| | הַצָּעִיר [g] בְּאַלְפֵי יְהוּדָה | וְאַתָּה בֵּית[f] אֶפְרָת | 5,1 |
| | לִהְיוֹת מוֹשֵׁל בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל [i] [h] | מִמְּךָ לִי יֵצֵא | |
| | [l]וְיִגְדַּל עַד־אַפְסֵי אָרֶץ: [m] | [j]וְרָעָה בְּעֹז יְהוָה [k] | 3 |
| 7 בַּגּוֹיִם [ζ] | | בְּנִי | 6 (ε) |
| | וְכָל־אֹיְבֶיךָ יִכָּרֵתוּ: | תָּרֹם יָדְךָ עַל־צָרֶיךָ | 8 (η) |
| | וּמִידָרֹךְ בְּאַדְמָתֵנוּ {[o]} | אַשּׁוּר כִּי־יָבוֹא בְאַרְצֵנוּ | 4b (ϑ) |
| | וּשְׁמֹנָה נְסִיכֵי אָדָם: | וַהֲקֵמֹנוּ עָלָיו שִׁבְעָה [p] | |
| | וְאֶת־אֶרֶץ נִמְרֹד בִּפְתָחֶיהָ [r] {} | וְרָעוּ אֶת־[q]אַשּׁוּר בֶּחָרֶב | |

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| (b) וְתַהֲרִימֶנָּה מֵאָדָם | | כְּעָדֶר בְּתוֹךְ הַדֹּבֵר | 2,12 (a) |
|---:|---:|---:|---:|
| (e) הַמַּמְלָכָה | (d) וּבָאָה | | לְבַת יְרוּשָׁלַם | 4,8 (c) |
| (h) וּמוֹצָאֹתָיו מִקֶּדֶם (מִימֵי עוֹלָם) | (g) לִהְיוֹת | לֶחֶם | 5,1 (f) |
| לָכֵן יִתְּנֵם עַד עֵת יוֹלֵדָה יָלָדָה וְיֶתֶר אֶחָיו יְשׁוּבוּן עַל בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל: | | | 2 (i) |
| (n) כִּי | (l) וְיָשְׁבוּ כִּי עַתָּה | (k) בִּגְאוֹן שֵׁם יְהוָה אֱלֹהָיו | עָמָד | 3 (j) |
| (n) כִּי | | | וְהָיָה זֶה שָׁלוֹם | 4 (m) |
| וְכִי יִדְרֹךְ בִּגְבוּלֵנוּ | | אַשּׁוּר כִּי־יָבוֹא בְאַרְצֵנוּ | 4b (o) |
| (r) וְהִצִּילָם | (q) אֶרֶץ | | רֹעִים | (p) |

ז

| | |
|---|---|
| 7, 14 i A | רְעֵה עַמְּךָ בְשִׁבְטֶךָ    צֹאן נַחֲלָתֶךָ |
| | שֹׁכְנִי לְבָדָד יַעַר    בְּתוֹךְ כַּרְמֶל |
| ii | יִרְעוּ בָשָׁן וְגִלְעָד    כִּימֵי עוֹלָם: |
| 15 | כִּימֵי צֵאתְךָ °מִמִּצְרָיִם    הַרְאֶנּוּ נִפְלָאוֹת: |
| 16 iii B | יִרְאוּ גוֹיִם וְיֵבֹשׁוּ    מִ°גְּבוּרָתָם |
| | יָשִׂימוּ יָד עַל־פֶּה    אָזְנֵיהֶם תֶּחֱרַשְׁנָה: |
| 17 iv | יְלַחֲכוּ עָפָר כַּנָּחָשׁ    כְּזֹחֲלֵי אָרֶץ |
| | יִרְגְּזוּ מִמִּסְגְּרֹתֵיהֶם {}    יִפְחֲדוּ° מִמֶּךָ: |
| 18 v C | {אַתָּה יְהֹוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ}    מִי־אֵל כָּמוֹךְ |
| | נֹשֵׂא־עָוֹן וְעֹבֵר עַל־פֶּשַׁע    לִשְׁאֵרִית נַחֲלָתוֹ': |
| 19 vi | לֹא־יֶחֱזִיק לָעַד אַפּוֹ    כִּי־חָפֵץ חֶסֶד־הוּא | |
| | [יְכַבֵּשׁ עֲוֹנֹתֵינוּ]°    יָשׁוּב יְרַחֲמֵנוּ [] |
| 20 vii | תִּתֵּן אֱמֶת לְיַעֲקֹב    חֶסֶד לְאַבְרָהָם |
| | אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁבַּעְתָּ לַאֲבֹתֵינוּ    מִימֵי קֶדֶם: |

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7,15 (α) מארץ     16 (β) כל     17 (γ) ויראו

19 (δ) וַתַשְׁלֵךְ בִּמְצֹלוֹת יָם    כָּל־חַטֹּאתָם

ר

A i 7, 1 אַלְלַי־לִי {{ כְאָסְפֵּי קַ֫יִץ <sup>a</sup>}} כְּעֹלְלֹת בָּצִיר {הָיִיתִי}
בִּכּוּרָה אִוְּתָה נַפְשִׁי :

ii 2 אָבַד חָסִיד מִן־הָאָרֶץ וְיָשָׁר בָּאָדָם אָיִן
כֻּלָּם לְדָמִים יֶאֱרֹבוּ אִישׁ אֶת־אָחִיהוּ יָצ֫וּדוּ<sup>β</sup>;<sup>γ</sup>

iii 3 <sup>δ</sup>הַשָּׂר[<sup>ε</sup>](<sup>ζ</sup>) שֹׁאֵל [] בְּשִׁלּוּם () וְדִבֶּר הַוַּת נַפְשׁוֹ {{ :

4ᵃ יֹאחֵז הַטּוֹבָם כְּחֵדֶק {וְיַעֲבָתוּ} הַיְשָׁרִם מִמְּסוּכָה :

B iv 7 <sup>η</sup>וַאֲנִי בַּיהוָה אֲצַפֶּה אוֹחִילָה לֵאלֹהֵי יִשְׁעִי<sup>θ</sup>:

8 אַל־תִּשְׂמְחִי אֹיַבְתִּי־לִי <sup>ι</sup>כִּי־אֵשֵׁב בַּחֹשֶׁךְ יְהוָה־אוֹר־לִי :

v 9 זַעַף יְהוָה אֶשָּׂא<sup>κ</sup> עַד־אֲשֶׁר יָרִיב רִיבִי<sup>λ</sup>
יוֹצִיאֵנִי יְהוָה לָאוֹר אֶרְאֶה בְצִדְקָתוֹ :

vi 10 <sup>μ</sup>תְכַסֶּיהָ בוּשָׁה הָאֹמְרָה<sup>ν</sup> אַיּוֹ יְהוָה אֱלֹהָיִךְ
עֵינַי תִּרְאֶינָה בָּהּ עַתָּה תִּהְיֶה לְמִרְמָס<sup>ξ</sup>:

C vii 11 יוֹם לִבְנוֹת גְּדֵרָיִךְ יוֹם־הַהוּא יִרְחַק־חֹק:

12 יוֹם־הַהוּא וְעָדֶיךָ יָבוֹא לְמִנִּי אַשּׁוּר וְעָד־מֶצֶר :

viii וּלְמִן־מֶצֶר וְעָדֵי הַנָּהָר מִיָּם־יָמָּה וְהַר־הָהָר |
עַמִּים יִשְׁאוֹן מִנְחָה וְיָבֹאוּ אֶל־קְצִירוֹתָיִךְ :

ix 13 כִּי־הִנֵּה אֹיְבֵךְ יֹאבֵדוּ וְיִתְפָּרְדוּ כָל־פֹּעֲלֵי אָוֶן
וְהָיְתָה הָאָרֶץ לִשְׁמָמָה עַל־יֹשְׁבֶיהָ מִפְּרִי מַעַלְלֵיהֶם :

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(α) 7, 1 כֵּי (β) 2 בחרם

(γ) 5 אַל־תַּאֲמִינוּ בְרֵעַ אַל־תִּבְטְחוּ בְּאַלּוּף
מִשֹּׁכֶבֶת בְּחֵיקֶךָ שְׁמֹר פִּתְחֵי־פִיךָ :

6 כִּי־בֵן מְנַבֵּל אָב בַּת קָמָה בְאִמָּהּ
כַּלָּה בַּחֲמֹתָהּ אֹיְבֵי־אִישׁ אַנְשֵׁי בֵיתוֹ :

(δ) 3 לְהָרַע כַּפֵּיהֶם הֵיטִיבוּ (ε) וְהַשֹּׁפֵט (ζ) וְהַגָּדוֹל
(η) 4b יוֹם צְפוּתֶךָ <sup>00</sup> בָּאָה עַתָּה תִהְיֶה מְבוּכָתָם
(ϑ) 7 יִשְׁמָעֵנִי אֱלֹהָי (ι) 8 כִּי נָפַלְתִּי קָמְתִּי (κ) כִּי חָטָאתִי לוֹ
(λ) 9 וְעָשָׂה מִשְׁפָּטִי (μ) 10 וְתֵרֶא אֹיַבְתִּי וְ (ν) אֵלַי (ξ) כְּטִיט חוּצוֹת

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(00) 7, 4 פָּקֻדָּה

נוספות מימי החשמונאים

ה

|  |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| והאזינו מסדי ארץ | שִׁמְעוּ הֶהָרִים אֶת־רִיבְ[ֹ]ᵝ | 6, 2 | i | A |
| ועם־ישראל אתוכח: | כִּי־רִיב־לֹ[ﬞ]ᵞ עִם עַמִּי |  |  |  |
| וּמָה הֶלְאֵתִיךָ עֲנֵה־בִֹ: | עַמִּי מֶה עָשִׂיתִי־לָךְ | 3 | ii |  |
| וּמִבֵּית עבדים פְּדִיתִיךָᵟ | כִּי־הֶעֱלִתִיךָ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם | 4 |  |  |
| וְכֹל מַעֲשֵׂה בֵית־אַחְאָב | וַתִּשְׁמֹר חֻקּוֹת עָמְרִי | 16 | iii |  |
| ᶦוְחֶרְפַּת עַמִּים תִּשָּׂא: | וַתֵּלֵךְ בְּמֹעֲצוֹתָם |  |  |  |
| שִׁמְעֻ ᵏמוֹעֵד הָעִיר: | קוֹלִﬞᶦ לָעִיר אִקְרָא [ ] | 9 | iv | B |
| ᶦוּלְשׁוֹנָם רְמִיָּה בְּפִיהֶם: | ᵏעֲשִׁירֶיהָ מָלְאוּ חָמָס | 12 |  |  |
| וְאִיפַת רָזוֹן זְעוּמָה: | הַאֶשֶּׁה ᵏאֹצְרוֹת רֶשַׁע | 10 | v |  |
| וּבְכִיס אַבְנֵי מִרְמָה: | הַאֶזְכֶּה בְּמֹאזְנֵי רֶשַׁע | 11 |  |  |
| וַהֲשִׁמֹתְךָ עַל־חַטֹּאתֶיךָ: | ᵡאֲנִי הֶחֱלֵיתִיךָ הַכּוֹתֶךָ | 13 | vi |  |
| וְיָסֵג וְלֹא תַפְלִיטᵘ[ﬞᵛ]ᶲ; | {וְרֶ}שׁ הָן בְּקִרְבֶּךָ | 14 |  |  |

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שִׁמְעוּ־נָא אֵת אֲשֶׁר יְהוָה אֹמֵר

קוּם־רִיב אֶת־פְּנֵי הֶהָרִים   וְתִשְׁמַעְנָה הַגְּבָעוֹת קוֹלֶךָ:

6, 1 (α)

2 (β)  יְהוָה    (γ) יְהוָה

5.4 (δ)  וָאֶשְׁלַח לְפָנֶיךָ אֶת־מֹשֶׁה אַהֲרֹן וּמִרְיָם: עַמִּי זְכָר־נָא מַה יָעַץ בָּלָק

מֶלֶךְ מוֹאָב וּמֶה עָנָה אֹתוֹ בִּלְעָם בֶּן־בְּעוֹר   זְכָר־נָא מַה הַפְלִיאוֹ

לְהַעֲזֵר מִן־הַשִּׁטִּים עַד־הַגִּלְגָּל לְמַעַן דַּעַת צִדְקוֹת יְהוָה:

16 (ε)  לְמַעַן תִּתִּי אֹתָךְ לְשַׁמָּה וְיֹשְׁבֶיהָ לִשְׁרֵקָה    (ζ) 9 יְהוָה

9 (η)  מַטֶּה וּ   (ϑ) 12 אֲשֶׁר   (ι) וְיֹשְׁבֶיהָ דִּבְּרוּ שָׁקֶר   (κ) 11 בֵּית רֶשַׁע

13 (λ)  וְגַם   (μ) 14 וַאֲשֶׁר תְּפַלֵּט  לְחֶרֶב אֶתֵּן   (ν) 9 וְתוֹשִׁיעַ יִרְאֵי שָׁמֵד

15 (ξ)  {ᵒᵒתֹּאכַל וְלֹא תִשְׂבָּע}   ᵖᵖתִּזְרַע וְלֹא תִקְצֹר

ᵖᵖתִדְרֹךְ ᵗᵗ וְלֹא תָסוּךְ   ᵗᵗתִּירַשׁ וְלֹא תִשְׁתֶּה:

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6,14 (oo)  אַתָּה   (ππ) 15 אַתָּה   (ρρ) אַתָּה   (σσ) זַיִת   (ττ) שֶׁמֶן   (υυ) יַיִן

| לְמוֹרֶשֶׁת גַּת | לָכֵן תִּתְּנִי שִׁלּוּחִים | 1,14 v |
| לְמַלְכֵי יְהוּדָה: | בָּתֵּי אַכְזִיב לְאַכְזָב | |
| בָּת מָרֵשָׁה | ״הַיֹּרֵשׁ יָבֹא אֵלֶיךְ | 15 vi |
| ‎.כְּבוֹד יְהוּדָה: | עַד עוֹלָם יֹאבֵד | |

---

1,15 (ω)  עַד

ד

| * * * * * * * * | * * * * * * * * | i |
| * * * * * * * * | * * * * * * * * | |

| וִירוּשָׁלַ͏ִם עִיִּים תִּהְיֶה | ״צִיּוֹן שָׂדֶה תֵחָרֵשׁ | 3,12 ii |
| * * * * * * * | וְהַר־הַבַּיִת לְבָמוֹת יָעַר | |

| * * * * * * * * | * * * * * * * * | iii |
| * * * * * * * * | * * * * * * * * | |

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3,12 (a)  לָכֵן בִּגְלַלְכֶם

ג

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1, 8 i A    עַל־זֹאת אֶסְפְּדָה וְאֵילִ֫לָה ᵃשׁוֹלָל וְעָר֫וֹם[β]

אֶעֱשֶׂה מִסְפֵּד⁊ כַּתַּנִּים    [δ]כִּבְנוֹת יַעֲנָה׃

10 ii    ᵉבְּכוֹ [ζ]בְּכִי בְּנ֫וֹתָיִךְ    לְעָפָר⁷ הִתְפַּלָּ֫שִׁי׃

16    קָרְחִי⁰ עַל־בְּנֵי תַעֲנוּגָיִךְ ⁱקָרְחָתֵךְ כַּנָּ֫שֶׁר᷿׃[λ]

9 iii    ᵐאֲנוּשׁוֹת מִכּוֹתֵיהֶן⁰    [ξ]עַד־שַׁ֫עַר עַמִּי⁰׃[π]

2, 13    עָלָה הַפֹּרֵץ לִפְנֵיהֶן[ρ]    [σ]מַלְכָּם⁷ ᵛבְּרֹאשָׁם׃

1, 11 iv B    עִבְרוּ לָכֶם [φ]בְּשָׁ֫פִיר    יָקָ֫ח[χ] עֶמְדָּתוֹ׃

13ᵃ    רְתֹם הַמֶּרְכָּבָה לָרֶכֶשׁ    יוֹשֶׁ֫בֶת לָכִישׁ׃[ψ]

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1, 8 (a) אִילְכֶה | (β) עֶרְיָה ᵃᵃ 11 | (γ) מִסְפֵּד בֵּ֫ית הָאֵ֫צֶל |
| (δ) וְאֵבָל | (ε) 10 בְּנַת אַל־תַּגִּ֫ידוּ | (ζ) אַל־ת |
| 16 (ϑ) וְגִ֫דִּי | (ι) הַרְחִ֫בִי | (κ) כִּי יִגְל֫וּ מִמֵּךְ |

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1, 9 (μ) כִּי     מָצוֹר שָׂם־עָלֵ֫ינוּ    4, 14 (λ) עַתָּה תִּתְגֹּדְדִי בַת־גְּדוּד

בַּשֵּׁ֫בֶט יַכּוּ עַל־הַלְּחִי    אֵת־שֹׁפֵט יִשְׂרָאֵל׃

1, 12ᵃ (ν) ᵝᵝחָ֫לָה לְטוֹב    יוֹשֶׁ֫בֶת מָרוֹם

4, 9    עַתָּה לָ֫מָּה    תָרִ֫יעִי רֵ֫עַ

הֲמֶ֫לֶךְ אֵין־בָּךְ    אִם־יוֹעֲצֵךְ אָבָד

כִּי־הֶחֱזִיקֵךְ חִיל    כַּיּוֹלֵדָה׃

10    חוּלִי וָגֹ֫חִי    בַּת־צִיּוֹן ᵞᵞ

כִּי־עַתָּה תֵצְאִי ᵟᵟ    וְשָׁכַנְתְּ בַּשָּׂדֶה

וּבָאת עַד־בָּבֶל    שָׁם־תִּנָּצֵ֫לִי ᵋᵋ׃

11    וְעַתָּה נֶאֶסְפוּ עָלַיִךְ גּוֹיִם רַבִּים הָאֹמְרִים תֶּחֱנָף וְתַחַז בְּצִיּוֹן עֵינֵ֫נוּ׃

12    וְהֵ֫מָּה לֹא יָדְעוּ מַחְשְׁבוֹת יְהוָה וְלֹא הֵבִ֫ינוּ עֲצָתוֹ כִּי קִבְּצָם כֶּעָמִיר גֹּ֫רְנָה׃

13    ק֫וּמִי וָד֫וֹשִׁי בַת־צִיּוֹן {[1]} וְהִדַקּ֫וֹת עַמִּים רַבִּים

[כִּי־פַרְסֹתַיִךְ אָשִׂים נְחוּשָׁה] {וְקַרְנַיִךְ אָשִׂים בַּרְזֶל}

וְהַחֲרַמְתָּ לַיהוָה בִּצְעָם    וְחֵילָם לַאֲדוֹן כָּל־הָאָֽרֶץ׃

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1, 9 (ξ) נָגַע ᶦᶦ | (ο) עַד יְרוּשָׁלָ֫ם | (π) 12ᵇ כִּי יָרַד רָע מֵאֵת יְהוָה לְשַׁ֫עַר יְרוּשָׁלָ֫ם ᵐᵐ |
| 2, 13 (ρ) | פָּרְצוּ וַיַּעֲבֹרוּ שַׁ֫עַר וַיֵּצְאוּ בוֹ | (σ) וַיַּעֲבֹר |
| (τ) | לִפְנֵיהֶם | (υ) וַיהוָה | (φ) 1, 11 יוֹשֶׁ֫בֶת | (χ) מִכֶּם |
| 10 (ψ) | ק֫וּמוּ וּלְכוּ כִּי לֹא זֹאת הַמְּנוּחָה | | |

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|---|---|---|
| 1, 11 (aa) בֹּ֫שֶׁת | (ββ) 12ᵃ כִּי | (γγ) 4, 10 כַּיּוֹלֵדָה | (δδ) מִקִּרְיָה |
| 4, 10 (εε) | שָׁם־יִגְאָלֵךְ (יְהוָה) | מִכַּף אֹיְבָיִךְ | |
| 1, 9 (ζζ) כִּי בָאָה עַד יְהוּדָה | (ηη) לֹא יָצְאָה יוֹשֶׁ֫בֶת צַאֲנָן | | |

</div>

ב

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2, 1 | i A | הֹוֹי־חֹשְׁבֵי אָ֫וֶן[a] | עַל־מִשְׁכְּבֹותָם |
| | | בְּאֹ֫ור[β] יַעֲשֹׂ֫וּהָ | כִּי־יֶשׁ־לְאֵל־יָדָם : |

| 2 | ii | וְחָמְד֫וּ שָׂדֹות | וְגָזָ֫לוּ{γ}{δ בָתִּ֫ים} |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | וְעָשְׁק֫וּ גֶּ֫בֶר[ε] | [ε]בֵיתֹו[] וְנַחֲלָתֹ֫ו : |

| 8 | iii B | וְאַתֶּ֫ם עַל־עַמִּ֫י | [η]אֹויֵ֫ב תְּקֹומֵ֫מוּ |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | מִמֻּ֫ול שַׂלְמָ֫ה | אַדֶּ֫רֶת תַּפְשִׁיט֫וּן[ϑ] : |

| 9 | iv | נְשֵׁי[ι] תְגָרְשׁ֫וּן | מִבֵּית־תַּעֲנֻגֶ֫יהָן |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | מֵעַל־עֹלֲלֵיהָ֫ן | תִּקְח֫וּ הֲדָרָתִ֫י[κ] : |

| 3 | v C | [λ]הִנְנִ֫י חֹשֵׁ֫ב | עַל־הַמִּשְׁפָּחָ֫ה[μ ν]{ξ} |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | [ο]לֹא־תָמִ֫ישׁוּ מִשָּׁ֫ם[π] | צַוְּארֹתֵיכֶ֫ם[ϱ] : |

| 4 | vi | [τ]יִשָּׂ֫א[υ] מָשָׁ֫ל | וְנָהָ֫ה[φ] נְהִ֫יָה |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | [χ]שָׁדֹ֫וד נְשַׁדֻּ֫נוּ[ψ] {}[] {ω}שָׂדֵ֫ינוּ יְחַלֵּ֫ק[aa] |

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2, 1 (α)   וּפֹעֲלֵי רָע   (β) הַבֹּקֶר   (γ) 2 וְנָשָׂ֫אוּ   (δ) וּ   (ε) אִישׁ   (ζ) וּ

8 (η)   לֹ   (ϑ) מֵעֹבְרִים בֶּטַח שְׁבֵי מִלְחָמָה   (ι) 9 עַמִּ֫י   (κ) לְעֹולָם

3 (λ)   לָכֵן כֹּה אָמַר יהוה   (μ) הַזֹּאת   (ν) רָעָה   (ξ) 5 חֶבֶל   (ο) 3 אֲשֶׁר

4 (π)   אֵיךְ יָמִישׁ לֹו   3 (ϱ) וְלֹא תֵלְכוּ רֹומָה   כִּי עֵת רָעָה הִיא

10 (σ)   בַּעֲבוּר טָמְאָה תְּחַבֵּל נִמְרָץ   4 (τ) בַּיֹּום הַהוּא

4 (υ)   עֲלֵיכֶם   (φ) נְהִי   (χ) וְאָמַר   (ψ) לִשֹׁובֵ֫ינוּ   (ω) חֵלֶק עַמִּי יָמֹוד

5 (αα)   לָכֵן־לֹא יִהְיֶה לְךָ מַשְׁלִיךְ () [ββ]גֹּורָל בִּקְהַל יהוה

6   [γγ]לֹא יִטֹּ֫פוּ[δδ] כָּאֵ֫לֶּה לֹא יִשַּׂ֫ג כְּלִמֹּ֫ות {בֵּית יַעֲקֹב}

7   הַאֹמֵ֫ר {} קָצַר רוּחַ יהוה אִם אֵלֶּה מַעֲלָלֵיהֶם
     הֲלֹוא דְבָרָיו יֵיטִיבוּ עִם הַיָּשָׁר הֹלֵךְ אֲחֵרָיו :

11   לֻו־אִישׁ הֹלֵךְ   וְרוּחַ[εε] כִּזֵּב
      אַטֵּ֫ף לְךָ   לַיַּ֫יִן וְלַשֵּׁכָר
      וְהָיָה מַטִּיף   הָעָם הַזֶּה :

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ב   2, 5 (ββ)   אַל תַּטִּ֫פוּ 6 (γγ)   יַטִּיפֻ֫ון (δδ)   11 וְשֶׁקֶר (εε)

## א

**A i** ᵝ3,9 הַמֲתַעֲבִים מִשְׁפָּט    וְאֵת־כָּל־הַיְשָׁרָה יְעַקֵּשׁוּ׃

**10** בֹּנֶי צִיּוֹן בְּדָמִים    וִירוּשָׁלַ͏ִם בְּעַוְלָה׃ᵞ

**ii 2** ᵟהַגֹּזְלִים עוֹרָם מֵעֲלֵיהֶם    וּשְׁאֵרָם מֵעַל־עַצְמוֹתָם׃ᵋ

**3** וְאֵת־עַצְמֹתֵיהֶם פִּצֵּחוּᶻ    כַּבָּשָׂר בְּתוֹךְ קַלָּחַת׃

**B iii 5** ᵑהַמַּתְעִים אֶת־עַמִּי הַנֹּשְׁכִים בְּשִׁנֵּיהֶם וְקָרְאוּ שָׁלוֹם    וַאֲשֶׁר לֹא־יִתֵּן עַל־פִּיהֶם וְקִדְּשׁוּ עָלָיו מִלְחָמָה׃

**iv 6** לָכֵן לַיְלָה לָכֶם מֵחָזוֹן    וְחָשְׁכָה לָכֶם מִקְּסֹםᶿ׃

**7** וּבֹשׁוּ הַחֹזִים וְחָפְרוּᶦ    וְעָטוּ עַל־שָׂפָם כֻּלָּם ᵏˡᵃ׃ᵘ

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**1,1 (α)** דְּבַר יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר הָיָה אֶל מִיכָה הַמֹּרַשְׁתִּי בִּימֵי ᵛᵛיִחִזְקִיָּה מֶלֶךְ

**3,9 (β)** שִׁמְעוּ־נָא°° רָאשֵׁי ᵗᵗיַעֲקֹב    וּקְצִינֵי בֵּית־יִשְׂרָאֵל [יְהוּדָהᵋᵋ׃]

**11 (γ)** רָאשֶׁיהָ בְּשֹׁחַד יִשְׁפֹּטוּ    וּכֹהֲנֶיהָ בִּמְחִיר יוֹרוּ

וּנְבִיאֶיהָ בְּכֶסֶף יִקְסֹמוּ    וְעַל־יְהוָה יִשָּׁעֵנוּ

ᵖᵖהֲלוֹא יְהוָה בְּקִרְבֵּנוּ    לֹא־תָבוֹא עָלֵינוּ רָעָה׃

**1 (δ)** ᵟᵟσσשִׁמְעוּ־נָא רָאשֵׁי יַעֲקֹב    וּקְצִינֵי בֵּית־יִשְׂרָאֵל

הֲלֹא לָכֶם    לָדַעַת ᵗᵗהַמִּשְׁפָּט׃

**2** שֹׂנְאֵי טוֹב    וְאֹהֲבֵי רָע

**3 (ε)** אֲשֶׁר אָכְלוּ שְׁאֵר־עַמִּי    וְעוֹרָם מֵעֲלֵיהֶם הִפְשִׁיטוּ

**(ζ)** וּפָרְשׂוּ כַּשְׁאֵר בַּסִּיר    (η) ⁵ כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה עַל הַנְּבִיאִים

**6 (ϑ)** וּבָאָה הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ עַל־הַנְּבִיאִים    וְקָדַר עֲלֵיהֶם הַיּוֹם

**7 (κ)** כִּי־אֵין מַעֲנֶה אֱלֹהִים    (ι) הַקֹּסְמִים

**8 (λ)** וְאוּלָם אָנֹכִי מָלֵאתִי    כֹּחᵛᵛ וּמִשְׁפָּט וּגְבוּרָה

להַגִּיד לְיַעֲקֹב פִּשְׁעוֹ    וּלְיִשְׂרָאֵל חַטָּאתוֹ׃

**4 (μ)** אָז יִזְעֲקוּ אֶל־יְהוָה    וְלֹא יַעֲנֶה אוֹתָם

ᵠᵠוְיַסְתֵּר פָּנָיו מֵהֶם    כַּאֲשֶׁר הֵרֵעוּ מַעַלְלֵיהֶם׃

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**1,1 (νν)** יוֹתָם אָחָז (ξξ) אֲשֶׁר חָזָה עַל שֹׁמְרוֹן וִירוּשָׁלַ͏ִם (οο) 3,9 זֹאת (ππ) בֵּית

**3,11 (ρρ)** לֵאמֹר (σσ) 1 וַאֹמַר (ττ) אֵת (υυ) 8 אֶת רוּחַ יְהוָה (φφ) 4 בְּעֵת הַהִיא

# THE LATIN VERSIONS OF FIRST ESDRAS[1]

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Of Latin versions of First Esdras—or Third Ezra, as it was called by the Roman Catholic church—at least three are known: (1) the Vulgate; (2) the Old Latin, preserved in two manuscripts, the Colbertinus[2] and the Sangermanensis;[3] and (3) the rendering of the Mansi[4] manuscript, which preserves in a fragmentary way the Story of the Three Youths, together with brief excerpts or abridgments from parts of chaps. 5 to 8.

Of the above, only the Colbertinus and the Vulgate are preserved entire. The Sangermanensis extends through 5:3 only; and besides has suffered through scribal revision, as we shall see later. The Mansi, aside from being brief and fragmentary, is further a late translation, so that its importance is quite considerably lessened. Because of these conditions our attention is necessarily directed primarily to the Colbertinus and the Vulgate. We will, however, first examine the supplemental sources of information.

## I.   THE MANSI VERSION

The Mansi manuscript comes from a translation made presumably in the latter half of the fifth century, though possibly in the sixth. As noted above, it was edited and published by P. de Lagarde in 1892. This document is especially interesting. It consists for the most part of brief excerpts from the Old and New Testaments, a summarized history which proves to be little more than a genealogical

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[1] Part of an investigation which was completed in May, 1908, at Yale University.

[2] The Colbertinus is an Old Latin codex of about the eighth or ninth century, the text of which is published in Peter Sabatier's *Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinae Versiones Antiquae* (1751).

[3] The Sangermanensis is an Old Latin codex of the same type as the Colbertinus, but dating about a century later. Its variant readings are noted by Sabatier in the above-mentioned publication (*B.S.L.V.A.*).

[4] The Mansi manuscript was published by Paul de Lagarde in his "Septuaginta Studien" in *Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* (1892).

record from Adam to Jesus.   In such a summary it is to be expected that the author will treat his authorities with considerable freedom, yet we are not a little surprised to find that he has devoted so much space to the Ezra narrative.   From this source he quotes at length, and—most remarkable of all—has incorporated the Story of the Three Youths practically entire.   He also includes about half the letter of Artaxerxes to Ezra—III Ezra 8:9–30 (omitting vss. 15–25) = ll. 471–86 of Lagarde in *A.K.G.W. zu G.*—and the prayer of thanksgiving uttered by the "young man" (*iuvenis*, i.e., Zoro-babel) of III Ezra 4:58–63*b* (ll. 459–65).

But the historical sections proper are thoroughly epitomized and quite subordinated.   It is a matter of some wonder to conjecture just what documents the author had before him.   He himself in his introduction includes the Old and New Testaments—"genealogiae totius bibliotecae ex omnibus libris collectae veteris novique testamenti"—extending to the time of "the blessed Cyprian."   But he also mentions "ad nostram aetatem quid fuerit gestum apertissime monstratur, ex storiis collectum legalium mandatorum."   All this is borne out in the subsequent pages of the document.   He does not confine himself to Hebrew or Jewish history, but quotes with almost equal interest from the doings of Babylonian and Persian monarchs, or from the legends of Roman literature, from the mythical founding of Rome by Romulus and Remus down to the death of Valentinian III (ll. 339–70).   He even quotes Vergil, "Karthago, urbs antiqua fuit, Tyrii tenuere coloni" (*Aeneid* i. 12–13), and uses the Roman method of reckoning time—"undecimu Kal. Maias" (l. 341) and "nono Kal. April" (l. 487).   Moreover, he is a thorough master of the Latin language, as shown by both style and diction.   For he has avoided most of the barbarisms exhibited by other translators; so that we have a much smoother text, and one that sounds less like "translation Latin" than either the Vulgate or the Old Latin. The style is simple and direct; unusual expressions are avoided; foreign idioms expunged; perfects sometimes translated by vivid presents; and a smooth, polished Latin secured.

The following table shows the portions of Ezra covered by the Mansi manuscript.   The notation used is that of Lagarde in his "Septuaginta Studien" mentioned above.

| I Esdras | Mansi | Canon. Ezra |
|---|---|---|
| | 322........3:2; 5:2 (cf. Matt. 1:12; Luke 3:27) |
| | 326–29.....1:7, 8 |
| | 329–33.....1:9–11 |
| | 357........1:1+II Chron. 36:21; Jer. 25:11; 29:10 |
| 4:42............371 | | |
| 3:1—4:48........375–459 | | |
| 4:58–63b.........459–65 | | |
| 5:1, 4, 7, 41a......465 | | |
| 5:41b–43.........466–69.....2:64–67 | | |
| 8:1–7............470 | | |
| 8:9–14...........471–79.....7:11a; 12–16a | | |
| 8:26–30a ........480–86.....7:25–28 | | |
| 7:12.............487.......6:22 | | |
| 6:2.............488........5:2 | | |
| 7:5.............489........6:15 | | |

From the above table it appears that of the 130 lines of the Mansi version paralleled by Ezra, 75 lines are used in recording the Story of the Three Youths (exclusive of historical setting of same at beginning and conclusion), and 10 more by the letter of Artaxerxes to Ezra; leaving only about 40 lines devoted to history proper, or less than one-third; so that this version occupies a decidedly secondary position as regards positive contributions to the main Ezra problem, except in so far as it throws light on the textual condition of the other versions.

As to the date of this translation, on internal evidence we know that it is at least later than the death of Valentinian III, which occurred in 454 A.D. The author of the Mansi version refers to the death of the above emperor as taking place 508 years after Julius Caesar; for in ll. 361, 362 is the statement "A Gaio vero Iulio Cesare usque ad Valentiniani extremum vitae naufragium anni sunt quingenti octo." The author's chronology may be a trifle inaccurate here, but there can be no doubt as to the particular event to which he is referring.

The chief importance of the Mansi manuscript is in the support it gives at several points to readings of the Old Latin and the Vulgate otherwise unattested. In a number of instances what would otherwise be regarded as corruptions, or careless and inferior translations on the part of the authors of our two main versions, appear in the

light of the evidence given by Mansi to be accurate renderings of a
form of the Greek tradition no longer preserved in any Greek codex.
For the most part these unusual readings are of no great importance
in themselves; yet as another line of evidence toward fixing the con-
tention that there were in existence as late as the time when the
Mansi translation was made Greek readings which have not come
down to us in any Greek codex known today, the testimony of the
Mansi manuscript is valuable. These several unusual readings will
be treated at length later in our discussion under the head of the Old
Latin and the Vulgate.

As I have said, what we have in the Mansi text is merely an
excerpt. It is also to be noticed that this version frequently abridges
by the omission of redundant words or phrases within the sentence.
For example, in 3:2 Mans. omits the first half of the verse, Καὶ
πᾶσιν τοῖς σατράπαις καὶ στρατηγοῖς καὶ τοπάρχαις τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτόν,
evidently simply because it could do so without loss of sense, regard-
ing the preceding πᾶσιν τοῖς μεγιστᾶσιν as sufficiently comprehen-
sive. In 3:4 Mans. translates but one of the expressions in the phrase
οἱ σωματοφύλακες, οἱ φυλάσσοντες τὸ σῶμα, for the perfectly appar-
ent reason that it is a double translation. (In this instance, it is true,
cod. 44 does also omit one member; but such omission is character-
istic of cods. 44 and 71, and other parallels prove that Mans. is far
from following either of these.) Very similar to the first illustration
is one found in 3:14, where πάντας τοὺς μεγιστᾶνας τῆς Περσίδος
καὶ τῆς Μηδίας καὶ σατράπας καὶ στρατηγοὺς καὶ τοπάρχας καὶ
ὑπάτους, καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐν τῷ χρηματιστηρίῳ is rendered in Mans. by
the all-embracing "praepositos et maiores; sederunt autem et omnes
principes." Cf. also 8:26(27).

Other examples where Mans. has thought to correct redundant
or double translations are 4:3, omission of καὶ δεσπόζει αὐτῶν in the
phrase καὶ κυριεύει αὐτῶν καὶ δεσπόζει αὐτῶν; 4:6, omission of καὶ
ἕτερος τὸν ἕτερον ἀναγκάζοντες ἀναφέρουσι τοὺς φόρους τῷ βασιλεῖ
as a repetition of the preceding καὶ ὅσοι οὐ στρατεύονται οὐδὲ πολε-
μοῦσιν ἀλλὰ γεωργοῦσιν τὴν γῆν, πάλιν ὅταν σπείρωσι, θερίσαντες
ἀναφέρουσιν τῷ βασιλεῖ; 4:14, omission of ἢ τίς ὁ κυριεύων αὐτῶν
as doublet of the preceding τίς οὖν ὁ δεπόζων αὐτῶν; 4:38, omission
of ἰσχύει as an expansion of μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα; 8:10(11), omission

of αἱρετίζοντες as a variant of βουλομένους just preceding. Compare also 4:5 (end), τῷ βασιλεῖ κομίζουσιν πάντα, καὶ ἐὰν προνομεύσωσιν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα, rendered by Mans. "regi adferunt quaecumque ceperint"; 4:23, the omission of λῃστεύειν καὶ κλέπτειν because already implied in the context; 4:45, καὶ σὺ ηὔξω οἰκοδομῆσαι τὸν ναὸν ὅν ἐνεπύρισαν οἱ Ἰδουμαῖοι, ὅτε ἠρημώθη ἡ Ἰουδαία ὑπὸ τῶν Χαλδαίων, abridged by Mans. to "et tu vovisti votum aedificare templum, quod incenderunt Chaldei, cum desolata esset Iudea."

Occasionally, however, the process seems to have been reversed, and a slight addition actually to have been made in the interest of clearness or forcefulness. Such is the rendering "quam *cito* praevalet vinum" for πῶς ὑπερισχύει ὁ οἶνος in 3:18; "hic est Zorobabel filius Salathiel *de domo David, ex genere Fares* de tribu Iuda" for οὗτός ἐστι Ζοροβαβὲλ]—Gk L (and Colb.) adds ὁ τοῦ Σαλαθιὴλ ἐκ φυλῆς Ἰουδα—in 4:13 (cf. 5:5); "et in fluviis *transire*" for καὶ ποταμούς in 4:23; and "et si adrisisset ei, ridebat *rex*" for καὶ ἐὰν προσγελάσῃ αὐτῷ, γελᾷ in 4:31. Cf. also the addition of "Bene valeas" in 8:24(27).

As to the type of Greek which Mans. follows there are very slight data to guide us, partly for the reason that in the particular section which Mans. covers, A, B, and L⁵ are unusually close in their agreement with each other, and partly for the reason that the character of Mans. itself renders any argument from plus or minus quantities of little value. A mere suggestion that Mans. lies closest to Gk A is found in 8:25 (28) where A prefixes a clause καὶ εἶπεν Ἔσδρας ὁ γραμματεύς not found in either B⁵ or L, but variously rendered by Colb., Vulgate, and Mans. This inference is borne out by the reading in 4:3 "faciunt," equivalent to ποιοῦσιν of several A codices (al. ποιήσουσιν) instead of ἐνακούουσιν of Gk B. In 4:45 also Mans. follows the reading of Gk A—τὸν ναὸν ὃν ἐνεπύρισαν οἱ Ἰδουμαῖοι, ὅτε ἐρημώθη ἡ Ἰουδαία ὑπὸ τῶν Χαλδαίων—in its "templum quod

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⁵ Here, and in the following pages, Gk AB is used to denote the Egyptian recension and Gk L the Palestinian recension. In First Esdras Gk L is represented by codices 19, 93, and 108. Codex 19 is fragmentary, covering only a part of this book. In certain sections cod. 121 also appears to have been copied from an L text. Of the Egyptian recension Gk B is used for the readings of the B group, in First Esdras, however, embracing only codices B and 55. All other codices are grouped under the head of Gk A, which is thus regarded as a family. So, unless so specified, Gk A or Gk B does not mean simply the uncials A or B, but the two branches of the Egyptian recension which are represented by these uncials.

incenderunt Chaldei, cum desolata esset Iudea,'' rather than that
of Gk B—τὸν ναὸν ὃν ἐνεπύρισαν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, τκλ.

But while it is probable that Mans. is closer to Gk A than to
Gk B or L, there are many passages in which it departs from all three.
Whether Mans. descends from a branch of the A family which has
not come down to us, or whether it represents simply an earlier and
less corrupt form of the A tradition, may be futile to attempt to
determine from the data available; but something of the sort seems
probable.    The evidence which points to this conclusion will be
treated in detail in a later portion of this article.

### II.   THE VERSION OF THE SANGERMANENSIS MANUSCRIPT

The Sangermanensis MS dates in its present form from about
900 A.D., or approximately a century later than the Colbertinus.
That it is, however, but a variant of the same Old Latin translation
has been recognized, and is borne out by careful comparison.    For
the most part it agrees verbatim with the Colbertinus, and—as I
shall endeavor to point out later—the instances where it appears
to have the support of the Vulgate against the readings of the Col-
bertinus are in nearly every case the result of recension which the
old version suffered, in which use was made of the Vulgate and prob-
ably also of the Greek.

The Sangermanensis is nevertheless of considerable critical value
especially where in spite of the process of recension through which
it has passed it still supports the reading of the Colbertinus, or where
it indicates the probable source of error or corruption in the Old
Latin; and we should be much poorer than we are in the material
for textual criticism had we not this manuscript to aid us in forming
an estimate of the character and condition of the Colbertinus, aside
from the few points at which it helps in the determination of certain
original readings of the Old Latin.

In the next few pages I shall endeavor to show proofs of this
recension to which the text of the Sangermanensis manuscript has,
I believe, been subjected.

#### 1.   *The Sangermanensis Text Influenced by the Vulgate*

Unfortunately for its value as a critical guide, the Sangermanensis
text has suffered through editorial revision.    One document which

has been used for this purpose has certainly been the Vulgate. It has not only been corrected from this source, but is also frequently conflate from it. In the main, however, it follows the text of the Colbertinus MS quite closely, and so attests its Old Latin origin. Furthermore, inasmuch as instances in which it has been compared with the Vulgate are usually readily recognizable and are relatively few in number, the Sangermanensis still acts as an important check and guide in our use of the Colbertinus and in the estimate to be put upon the Old Latin version.

Following is a list of the passages where the evidence appears surest that the Sangermanensis has been influenced by the Vulgate;

1:3 Colb.     sanctificate     vos Domino. Et posuerunt arcam     sanctam
    Vulg. ut sanctificarent se  Domino  in positione     sanctae arcae
    Sang. ut sanctificarent se  Domino  in positionem sanctam arcam

Since the reading of Colb. is in part attested by a variant conflate reading of codex 108, and is further partially attested by codices 44, 74, 106, 120, 121, 134, 236—which have the imperative ἁγιάσατε, corresponding to Colb. "sanctificate" as against ἁγιᾶσαι of the other codices—it is simplest to regard the variations in Sang. as due to the influence of the Vulgate.

1:5 Colb.     secundum divisiones   principatus cognationum vestrorum
    Vulg. et secundum particulam principatus paternam       vestram
    Sang. et secundum particulam principatus paternarum . vestrorum

          Levitarum . . . . qui (   ) fuerint
    eorum            qui stant
    quorum Levitarum      qui stant

Here the readings of both Colb. and Vulg. are independently well attested by the Greek. The correction and conflation from the Vulgate are too apparent to require comment.

1:8 Colb.                                   & Levitis
    Vulg. & sacerdotibus in Pascha
    Sang. & sacerdotibus in Pascha & Levitis

The above is especially significant, for the Colb. and Vulg. followed distinct Greek texts. The "in Pascha" of the Vulgate does not occur in the Greek at this point, but has resulted from the accidental omission by the Vulg. of an entire line. The reviser of Sang.,

however, did not recognize this fact, but inserted "in Pascha" along with the rest that he took from the Vulg., and then repeated the phrase later in its proper order.

1:38 Colb.        Zachariam autem . . . . comprehendens adduxit
    Vulg.    &  Zaracelem     . . . . apprehendens   reduxit
    Sang. porro Zachariam      . . . . apprehendens   reduxit

By his attempt to correct in this instance the redactor has multiplied error; for he omits "autem"—which is thoroughly attested by δὲ of all codices—but retains "Zachariam," though this is plainly a corruption of Ζαρακιμ or Ζαραχην of the Greek.

1:49 Colb.  principes autem populi, & sacerdotes  multa scelera
    Vulg. et duces        populi Domini      multa inique
    Sang. et duces    autem populi & sacerdotum multa inique
        commiserunt
        gesserunt
        gesserunt

1:57 Colb.  et erat servi ejus & filiorum ejus  donec . . . . ut
    Vulg. et erat servi illius         [6]usque dum . . . . in
    Sang. et erat servi illius & filii illius usque dum . . . . per
        impleretur[7] verbum Domini
        repletione    verbi   Domini
        impletionem verbi    Domini

1:54 Colb. omnia vasa Domini sancta, majora & minora, & arcam Dei
    Vulg. omnia sacra vasa Domini,
    Sang. omnia sacra vasa Domini,  pusilla & majora

2:1  Colb. regnante autem Cyro     Persarum anno primo, ut
    Vulg. regnante        Cyro rex Persarum        in
    Sang. regnante        Cyro     Persarum anno primo in
        adimpleretur
        consummatione
        consummatione

2:3  Colb. et[8] Dominus      ejus  cum eo   ascendat in Hierusalem
    Vulg.     Dominus     ipsius ascendat cum eo   in Jerusalem
    Sang. sit Dominus Deus ipsius cum eo & ascendat in Jerusalem

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[6] The Vulgate probably originally read "& filii illius," like Sang.; but if so these words have now been lost.

[7] "impleretur" has been carelessly written "impleret" by Colb.

[8] "et" is very likely a corruption of "sit." The context rather points in this direction, as well as the parallel in Sang.

There is evidence on independent grounds that Sang. has also been compared with the Greek at certain points; and this may explain some of the variations in the last few examples—variations difficult of explanation solely on the ground of contamination from the Vulgate.

3:2   Colb.  omnibus regibus & ducibus          & praepositis
        Vulg.  omnibus purpuratis & praetoribus
        Sang.  omnibus regalibus satrapis & ducibus & praepositis
             locorum          & praefectis omnibus
                  consulibus & praefectis
             locorum, consulibus & praefectis omnibus

The above example shows not only unmistakable evidence of conflation from the Vulgate, but also, apparently, comparison with some Greek text; for "satrapis" seems to have been suggested by the Greek word σατράπαις.

4:9   Colb.  si autem dixerit, concidite, concidunt; et si dixerit
        Vulg.          dixerit, excidite,  excidunt;          dixerit,
        Sang.  si autem dixerit, excidite, excidunt;   et    dixerit,
             novellate, novellant.
             plantate,  plantant.
             plantate,  plantant.

4:63 Colb.  et                  cymbalis percutiebant cum musicis
        Vulg.  et exsultaverunt                  cum musicis
        Sang.  et exsultaverunt cum cymbalis et cum musicis percutiebant

Other passages which show similar phenomena are 1:14(15), 1:16, 1:18, and 4:7–8.

### 2.   The Sangermanensis Text Possibly Compared with the Greek

As intimated in the preceding, the Sangermanensis has perhaps been compared at some points with the Greek. Instances were noted where certain variations and coincidences might well be so explained.

In the following a few more cases are adduced that appear to point in the same direction. It is not urged that the evidence is by any means conclusive; but the possibility seems worthy of note. These are passages in which the differences of Sangermanensis from both Colbertinus and Vulgate find their explanation in a glance at the Greek original. We should bear in mind at the same time that the

Sangermanensis for the most part agrees with the Colbertinus verbatim. The variations are therefore the more significant.

1:8 Colb.       principes templi Dei sacerdotibus    dederunt
   cod. 108    ἄρχοντες οἴκου τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι, καὶ ἔδωκαν
   Gk AB, etc.  οἱ ἐπιστάτοι τοῦ ἱερεῦσιν εἰς
   Vulg.        *                          * sacerdotibus
   Sang.        praepositi domus (de ipsis) sacerdotibus

   ad Pascha ovium duo millia DCC,    vitulos DC.
   πάσχα πρόβατα δισχίλια ἑξακόσια [καὶ] μόσχους τριακοσίους
   in Pascha oves numero duo millia ac vituli centum
   in Pascha oves duo millia sexcentos,    vitulos trecentos.

In the first part of the above, cod. 108 has preserved the reading of Colb., but not in the second half. The readings οἴκου of cod. 108 and ἱεροῦ of A, B, etc., for which Colb. has "templi" and Sang. "domus," appear to have been transposed. But the true explanation is probably that the οἴκου reading has been lost from the present A, B, group, but has been retained by cod. 108, and is suggested by Sang. in its "domus."

The section denoted by the asterisks is lacking in the Vulg. It appears to be a case of accidental omission through similarity of expressions. If so it is reasonably certain that "praepositi domus," with the omission of "dederunt" by Sang., resulted directly from a comparison with Gk A, B, etc. This conjecture is further supported by the fact that the numerals also do not agree either with Colb. or Vulg. but do conform exactly with the Greek.

The origin of "de ipsis" of Sang. is not so easy to explain; but may possibly be a corrupt expansion of "Dei" of Colb.

1:9b Colb.      praefecti initia dederunt Levitis ad Pascha . . . .
   Gk AB, etc.  χιλιάρχοι ἔδωκαν τοῖς Λευίταις εἰς πάσχα . . . .
   Vulg.        *                          * in Phase . . . .
   Sang.        tribuni      dederunt Levitis in Pascha . . . .

   vitulos quingentos.
   μόσχους ἑπτακοσίους
   vitulos quingentos.
   vitulos septingentos.

This case is very similar to the preceding. Part of a line is omitted by Vulg. (**), and yet appears in Sang. Unless we assume that

Vulg. originally had this line, and that Sang. was corrected from Vulg. at an early date, we are rather shut up to the conclusion that an uncertain portion in the Sang. MS was restored by a reference to the Greek. The differences in the numerals again afford a slight support to this latter view.

| 1:11, 12 Colb. | | et immolaverunt vitulos. |
|---|---|---|
| cod. 108 | | καὶ ἔθυσαν τοὺς μόσχους, καὶ οὔ. τ. |
| Gk AB, etc. | καὶ οὕτως τὸ πρωινόν · | καὶ ὤπτησαν τὸ πάσχα |
| Vulg. | | et assaverunt Phase. |
| Sang. | et sic ad diluculum | et assaverunt Phase. |

This passage occurs at the end of a section where cod. 108 is extremely conflate, and this fact probably explains the inverted order, as well as the absence of an exact equivalent for καὶ οὕτως τὸ πρωινόν in both Colb. and Vulg. Apparently it was not in the Gk original from which either of these versions was made, but appears in the AB groups, and from these possibly came the conflation in the L recension. Ultimately the variation resulted from reading בְּקָר as בֹּקֶר.

Now in the above cod. 108 attests the reading of Colb. beyond the possibility of a doubt, and it is reasonable to suppose that Sang. originally read like the Colb.; but perhaps observing that this did not at all agree with the Vulg. reading, the redactor may have referred to the Greek as the final deciding factor.

| 2:6 Colb. | adjuvent eum et dent animum Domino | in loco ejus. |
|---|---|---|
| Vulg. | adjuvent eos   qui sunt | in loco ipso. |
| Sang. | adjuvent eum qui sunt | in loco ipsius |
| Gk AB, etc. | βοηθείτωσαν αὐτῷ οἱ | ἐν τῷ τόπῳ αὐτοῦ |

At first glance it might appear that Vulg. and Sang. are in simple agreement, and that the slight differences are quite accidental. But a more careful study of the Greek does not bear out this inference. For "et dent animum Domino" of Colb. is attested by καὶ προθυμείσθωσαν τῷ Κυρίῳ of cod. 108, and Vulg. has descended from a Gk that omitted this phrase. Again we may suppose that the editor of Sang. noticed the variation of the Old Latin, and once more referred to the Gk to decide the case. There he discovered—supposedly— that there was no authority for the tradition of the Colb. and also that "qui" referred to the subject of "adjuvent" instead of its

object. That the Vulgate did, however, enter into the problem is indicated by the word "ipsius" of Sang., which is half-way between "ejus" of Colb. and "ipso" of Vulg. The plural, of course, could not stand in the light of αὐτῷ of Gk A, B, etc., and so Sang. retains "eum."

3:2 Gk    σατράπαις
   Colb. regibus*
   Vulg. purpuratis
   Sang. regalibus satrapis

Here is a reasonably certain instance of direct comparison with the Greek. The O. L. translation of σατράπαις ("regulis," as we know from other passages, e.g., 3:14; 4:47; 4:49 and, by mistake, at the end of 3:2) became early corrupted to "regibus." The Sang. editor saw that "regibus" was a mistake, but did not recognize that the original reading was "regulis." The Vulg. "purpuratis" did not satisfy him; but referring to the Greek, he transliterates σατράπαις and changes "regibus" into an adjective, "regalibus."

A similar example of conflation by comparison with the Greek is found in 4:8. Nearly all of 4:7–8 is missing from Colb., but appears in Vulg. and in Sang.—apparently added by Sang. from the Vulgate. In 4:8 Vulg. has "dixerit: exterminate, exterminant," a plain translation of the Gk εἶπεν, ἐρημῶσαι, ἐρημοῦσιν. This Colb. omits. Sang. has, however, "dicit: exterminate, exterminabunt," as if from Vulg.; then adds a double rendering of the Gk in "desolate, et desolant." That this is also a conscious second rendering is indicated by the fact that, although in every other instance the phrases like "exterminate, exterminabunt" are prefixed by "dicit" or "dixerit," here "desolate, et desolant" has no such introductory word, but is joined directly to "exterminabunt," as if to define the Vulgate translation more correctly.

One further observation should be made: that all the above "corrections" from the Greek are from the AB type of text, and not from L.

### III. THE WITNESS OF THE GREEK TEXTS

A few comments in regard to the Greek recensions seem advisable at this point. Little need be said regarding the two well-known families A and B. I would merely call attention once more to the

fact that B has usually been accepted as the better preserved text, and that the evidently superior readings of A at certain points have been explained on the basis of an assumed recension from the Hebrew. In his article "The Apparatus for the Textual Criticism of Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah," in the Harper Memorial Volume of *Old Testament and Semitic Studies*, Professor C. C. Torrey has shown the real superiority of the A-manuscripts to those of the B-group. His demonstration receives additional confirmation—were any needed—in the witness of the Old Latin and the Vulgate. There are certainly the strongest reasons for regarding A as much superior to B. It is not the purpose of this article to deal with this problem, however; and so I shall enter it only so far as to show how the Latin versions support this general conclusion. This will appear later in the discussion.

It is necessary to devote considerably more space to the problem of the L recension, however, inasmuch as this peculiar Greek type enters so largely into the solution of our especial problem—the Old Latin—and is moreover a text that is so easily misused. It seems desirable to introduce at this point some further illustration of the peculiarities of the L recension, by way of supplementing those given by Professor Torrey in his article.

The L recension represents no one family of the Greek tradition. This is important to note. It is on the contrary made up from several separate sources of the Greek tradition, and has besides been compared—at least in places—with the Hebrew. The above conclusions have been established beyond the shadow of a doubt; and it has also been possible to prove that L contains many examples of "improvements" of the text, and that it is largely eclectic.

First of all, L is conflate. A very few examples will suffice for illustration.

1:3 Gk AB   ἐν τῇ θέσει τῆς ἁγίας κιβωτοῦ
     Gk L    ἐν τῇ θέσει τῆς ἁγίας κιβωτοῦ, καὶ ἔθηκαν τὴν ἁγίαν κιβωτόν.

That the plus of L is no accident, but represents a genuine conflate reading, is shown by the fact that AB is accurately translated by the Vulgate, in "positione sanctae arcae," while Colb. has rendered the second member of L only, "et posuerunt arcam sanctam."

Clearly Colb. is from a Greek text which read as did this second member of L, and this variant tradition the author of L had before him, as well as the current AB tradition.

1:5/6: At the end of vs. 5 AB reads ἐν τάξει simply. The O.L. has "et pars domus cognationis Levitis et," = καὶ μέρις οἴκου πατρίας τοῖς Λευίταις καὶ of another source. L has combined the two, reading καὶ μέρις οἴκου πατρίας τοῖς Λευίταις ἐν τάξει· καί.

Probably the best illustration of all occurs in 1:10–11. Here L repeats a long section almost *in toto*. I indicate the parts as La and Lb respectively. The Vulgate follows Lb (= Gk AB).

Colb.  et directa est servitus.        et statuerunt sacerdotes et
La     καὶ κατωρθώθη ἡ λειτουργία·   καὶ ἔστησαν οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ
AB     καὶ ταῦτα τὰ γενόμενα   εὐπρεπῶς, ἔστησαν οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ

       Levitae in stationibus suis,    et habebant azyma
       οἱ Λευῖται ἐπὶ τὴν στάσιν αὐτῶν·   καὶ [
       οἱ Λευῖται                        ἔχοντες τὰ ἄζυμα

       secundum constitutionem ad dividendum ea (populo)
                              ] ἐπὶ τὰς διαρέσεις αὐτῶν
       κατὰ τὰς φυλὰς     καὶ     κατὰ τὰς μεριδαρχίας [

       secundum praecepta regis.   et immolaverunt Pascha et
       κατὰ τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ   ἔθυσαν τὸ   φασεχ. καὶ
       [

       effuderunt sacerdotes sanguinem manibus suis, et
       προσέχεον οἱ ἱερεῖς τὸ αἷμα ἐκ χειρὸς αὐτῶν, καὶ
       [

       immolaverunt holocausta, et sic tradiderunt
       ἔθυσαν τὴν ὁλοκαύτωσιν, καὶ ἔδειραν καὶ ἡτοίμασιν παραδοῦναι
       [

       eis secundum divisionem cognationum, ut offerrent coram
       αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὴν διαίρεσιν κατ᾽ οἴκους πατριῶν τοῖς υἱοῖς
                              ] τῶν πατέρων ἔμπροσθεν

       populo              Domini, sicut scriptum est in
       τοῦ λαοῦ, τοῦ προσαγαγεῖν τῷ κυρίῳ ὡς   γέγραπται   ἐν
       τοῦ λαοῦ,   προσενεγκεῖν τῷ κυρίῳ κατὰ τὰ γεγραμμένα ἐν

       libro   Moysi.
       βιβλίῳ Μωυσῆ·
       βιβλίῳ Μωυσῆ

L*b*  καὶ ταῦτα τὰ γενόμενα· εὐπρεπῶς ἔστησαν οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ
       οἱ Λευῖται                    ἔχοντες τὰ ἄζυμα
       κατὰ τὰς φυλὰς       κατὰ τὰς διαρέσεις   [
       [
       [
       [
                                 τῶν πατριῶν ἔμπροσθεν
       τοῦ λαοῦ,     προσενεγκεῖν τῷ κυρίῳ κατὰ τὰ γεγραμμένα ἐν
       βιβλίῳ Μωυσῇ

It is obvious, from this comparison, that two divergent traditions of
the passage have been taken over bodily by L, and placed side by side.

But the above illustrates not merely the tendency of L to confla-
tion, but is a good example of certain other characteristics. For
instance, there is one almost certain instance of comparison with
the Hebrew. This occurs in L*a*, which has τοῖς υἱοῖς τοῦ λαοῦ where
Colb. has "coram populo" and AB and L*b* have ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ λαοῦ.
Vulg. has "in conspectu populi." It is evident that the Greek
originally read ἔμπροσθεν from Hebr. לבני, and that L*a* has been
corrected from our canonical Hebr., which has לבני.

Of somewhat uncertain significance is the omission in L*a* of any
parallel for "habebant azyma secundum constitutionem" of Colb.
This may be due to simple oversight, or to conflation from an inferior
text, or it may be intentional because of the ἔχοντες τὰ ἄζυμα κατὰ
τὰς φυλάς in L*b*. Either of these explanations would fit the situation,
and would also be quite in keeping with the character of L.

Another characteristic of L is its eclectic nature. While having
before him, as we have seen from the above, two variant Greek
traditions, the *usual* method of its author is to select from one or
the other as suits his fancy, rather than to conflate the two. For
this reason we sometimes find L following A, sometimes B, and again
following the otherwise unknown readings of a peculiar source.
(I should perhaps remark that as between A and B, L follows A rather
closely as a rule, and only rarely agrees with B against A.)

Finally, L has certainly been compared with the Hebrew in certain
places. As to the degree of comparison, there seems to be a difference
of testimony among the various codices included in the L group:
yet they agree in the main. The chief points of direct contact with
the Hebrew are in the sections dealing with the lists of proper names.

I shall give only a few examples, inasmuch as the same phenomenon appears throughout I Esdras. The Hebrew with which L has been compared is quite similar to our canonical Hebrew text, and yet appears to have differed slightly at certain points. Which was the better text is not our purpose at present to determine.

8:43(45) AB, Ἰδουῆλον] Colb., "Idouelon." But L Ἀριηλ, from Hebrew אריאל. For the rest of the verse L omits Μαιὰ, Μασ-μάν, which do not appear in the Hebrew, and also Ἰώριβον and a second Ἐλναθάν (appearing in AB as Ἐννατάν), which are in the Hebrew, but which were probably overlooked because the Hebrew read ולאלנתן וליריב ולאלנתן, and the eye of the redactor jumped from the first ולאלנתן to the second; or else—more probably—because these two words were not in the Hebrew which the author of L had before him.

8:32(35) Ζαθόης] L omits, following the Hebrew.

8:34(37) Ζαραίας] cod. 108 has Ζαβδειας, from Hebrew זבדיה.

8:44(46), 45(47) Λοδδαῖον] L = Ἀδδαι; Hebrew אדו.

8:47(49) Χανουναίου] L = Μεραρει; from Hebrew מררי.

9:14 Θοκανου] L = Θεκονε; Hebrew תקוה.

9:22 Ωκοδηλος] cod. 108 = Ἰωζαβαδ; Hebrew יוזבד.
  Ταλσας (Σαλοας] cod. 108 = Ηλασα; Hebrew אלעשה.

9:23 Ιωνας] L = Ελιεζερ; Hebrew אליעזר.

9:25 Τολβανης) Τολμανης] L = Τελλημ καὶ Ουριας; Hebrew טלם ואורי.

9:27 Ιεζριηλος) Ιεζορικλος] cod. 108 = Ιειηλ; Hebrew יחיאל.

9:28 Ελιαδας] cod. 108 = Ελιωναι; Hebrew אלידעני.
  Οθονιας] cod. 108 = Ματθανια; Hebrew מתניה.
  Ζαβαδεις καὶ Ζαρδιας) Σαβαθος Ζεραλιας] cod. 108 = Ζαβαδοζει; from Hebrew זבדיזא.

9:29 Ιωζαβδος καὶ Εμαθι) Ζαβδος κ Ε.] L = Ζαββουθ Θελεει; from Hebrew זבי עתלי.

9:31 Αδδιν Λαθος) Αδδι Νααθος] cod. 19 = Μωαβ Αιανα; cod. 108 = Φαθμωαβ Αιανα; Hebrew פחת מואב עדנא.

9:33 Βανναιους) Σαβανναιους] L = Ζαβδια; Hebrew זבד. L further adds Ιερεμει, Hebrew ירמי, but found in no other Greek text or version.

These examples are characteristic ones, and it would be a needless waste of time to multiply instances. Throughout the sections where proper names appear it will be found that L agrees for the most part very closely indeed with the Massoretic text. I have selected only those names which in AB have departed most widely from our

present Hebrew, and whose L variant finds no support in any version. It will be found that L with few exceptions conforms throughout to the consonants of M, even to the extent of omitting the usual ending -ος, e.g., Μεσολλαμ for Μοσολλαμος (9:14) and Ασσαηλ for Αζαηλου (9:14).

Other indications of comparison with the Hebrew are the several instances of the addition of υἱός where it has apparently crept in in the Massoretic text; i.e., where there is no support, beyond the evident meaning, in any other Greek text.

The exact explanation of ναθιναῖοι of L (Hebrew נתינים) in the place of ἱερόδουλοι of AB, or of πέσαχ for πάσχα may not be quite certain, but it at least points to a transliteration from the Hebrew at some stage of the history of L.

Reverting once more for a moment to that fruitful passage 1:10–11, let me point out that we have strong evidence that AB suffered some early permanent corruption. This fact is important as bearing on our later conclusions. In the first place AB omits a considerable section contained in La—the original reading preserved thus by L only—between διαιρέσεις and διαίρεσιν. But this omitted section is independently attested by the Old Latin, and is of such a character that its omission by AB is unquestionably accidental. On the other hand, that this omission took place early is shown by the absence of this phrase in the Vulgate and also by the fact that the author of L did not have it in his AB text. But this conclusion involves another point: Our present AB text has μεριδαρχίας in the place of La's διαιρέσεις. This would not be so remarkable, for we might readily conjecture a second μεριδαρχίας or μεριδαρχίαν in the original of AB to correspond with the second διαίρεσιν of La, were it not for the fact that Lb—which elsewhere has copied AB verbatim—has here διαιρέσεις. In the light of these evidences it seems to me practically certain that AB also originally read as does Lb; in other words, that AB has undergone some slight corruption since the L conflation took place.

The above receives additional confirmation from certain other passages which will be noted later in another connection. It becomes important when we come to consider the problem of certain divergences of the Old Latin and Vulgate from any extant Greek reading.

It at least opens the possibility that our Latin versions may preserve better readings in places than even the Greek. For it should be further noted that after the first few verses of I Esdras the compiler of L shows less of the tendency to conflate, and prefers to select from AB, or from the source which had the original reading, as suits his fancy. For this reason many old readings have certainly been lost to us, at least so far as the Greek is concerned.

<div style="text-align:center">IV.   THE OLD LATIN</div>

As previously stated, the Old Latin is chiefly represented by two manuscripts, the Colbertinus and the Sangermanensis.[8] We have already discussed Sang., and there yet remain the characteristics of Colb. to be studied.

The Colbertinus manuscript dates from about 800 A.D., approximately a century earlier than the Sangermanensis. This in itself might suggest a slight possibility of superiority in the former, though not necessarily so. But we have seen that the Sangermanensis represents an "emended" Old Latin text—one that has suffered through editorial revision—so that we are left practically dependent on the Colbertinus alone in the final analysis. The Sangermanensis is of independent value only at a few points and in minor particulars.

The date of this Old Latin version is far from fixed. References to Latin translations of the Bible, or parts of it, go back to the middle of the third century A.D., and even earlier; but whether or not these included the original of the Colb. and Sang. texts for the book of I Esdras cannot be asserted positively. Augustine, early in the fifth century, certainly knows this Old Latin version which we have; for in his *De divinis scripturis sive speculum* he says: "Item in libro hesdrae I: 'Veritas autem permanet et invalescit in aeternum et vivet et perseverat in saecula saeculorum,et non accipit personam hominis nec differentias, sed iusta iudicat et facit: ab omnibus iniquis dolosis et impiis discedit, et omnes iusti sperant in eam, et

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[8] [Since the above was written, Mr. York has studied and collated the Cod. Mazarinaeus (M) in the Mazarine Library at Paris, and the Cod. Ambianensis (A) in the Bibliothèque Communale at Amiens (see Bensly in the Cambridge *Texts and Studies*, III, 2, xiii). He reports that M, which contains of I Esdr. only 3: 1–5: 3, is a MS of the same type as Sang., with which it agrees very closely. A, on the other hand, is a Vulg. MS which only rarely departs from the received text. Neither cod. contains material of importance for the present discussion.—ED.]

non est in iudicio illius iniustitia: et eius est fortitudo et regnum et potestas illius in saecula saeculorum, benedictus est enim dominus veritatis.'" This is unquestionably a quotation from the Old Latin of I Esdras 4:38–40, with a free admixture of the Vulgate version as well, together with an occasional addition for the sake of "improvement" by Augustine himself. In the absence of more decisive data, therefore, the exact date of the Old Latin must remain a matter of conjecture and of internal evidence.

### Characteristics of the Old Latin Version

Most noticeable among the peculiarities of the Old Latin translator is his freedom in rendering the Greek. Not only is he very free in his constructions, but he is also given to paraphrases and interpretations in his renderings, not hesitating to add words or even whole phrases if he thinks the sense is improved by such treatment. Of course, this propensity on his part becomes very annoying at times when we wish to determine the exact wording of the Greek that he had before him, but usually we are left in no doubt, thanks to the aid of what Greek we have.

There are further indications that this translator was somewhat careless, and has made seemingly stupid translations, or has omitted needful words or phrases in a way for which there is no apparent excuse. But in spite of these defects, or sometimes just because of them, we are able to reconstruct the Greek original of this Old Latin with tolerable certainty.

To give a fair idea of the above-mentioned characteristics I will bring forward a few examples:

1:4 αὐτήν of all Gk (Vulg. "eam") is rendered "arcam" by Colb.

1:6 Colb. adds "secundum constitutionem" to its rendering of θύσατε τὸ πάσχα, and this is almost certainly a free expansion. δοθὲν τῷ Μωυσῇ is found in all Gk cods., and would be closely translated "datum est Moysi"; but Colb. has "data est *per manum* Moysi" (Compare, however, II Chron. 35:6).

1:21(23) Colb. defines "Josiae" by "*regis*," which has no support in Greek or Vulgate, and is doubtless added by the translator. Similar unauthorized additions of some form of "rex" are found in 1:23(25) twice; in 1:30(32); 1:36(38); 1:43(45); 3:14; 3:15(16); 4:31; 4:58; 6:17(18); 6:18(19): 8:64(68).

Closely allied to the above type of expansion is the addition of

"populus," especially to "Israel"; e.g., in 1:30(32); 1:31(33); 7:8; 8:81(85); 8:88(92); 8:91(96); 9:2.

1:53(56) τοὺς ἐπιλοίπους Colb. really translates twice in "reliquos qui remanserunt."

1:54(57) εἰς ἀναπλήρωσιν Colb. renders by a subordinate clause "ut impleret" (for "ut impleretur," evidently. Cf. 2:1).

2:3 βασιλέα τῆς οἰκουμένης is paraphrased by Colb. "regem universae terrae Persarum."

2:9(10) Colb. adds at end of the verse "et adtulerunt in Babylone," apparently an explanatory gloss, since it is quite without textual support.

2:23(27) Colb. adds "civitatis illius" to its rendering of οἱ ἄνθρωποι, also without support.

2:30(31) ἤρξαντο κωλύειν is rendered by Colb. "continuo ut venerunt prohibuerunt."

3:6 Colb. inserts "dabit ei" twice, apparently with the intention of rendering the meaning less ambiguous.

3:13 Colb. interprets αὐτῷ by "regi."

3:17 ὁ εἴπας περὶ τῆς ἰσχύος τοῦ οἴνου. Colb. changes the construction of this completely, and has "qui scripserat, fortius est vinum."

4:2 Colb. appends "obediunt ei," apparently as an interpretative improvement.

4:11 τηροῦσιν Colb. renders "vigilant et servant," a double translation.
οὐδὲ παρακούουσιν αὐτοῦ is paraphrased by the Old Latin "nec potest aliquis negligere mandata ejus."

4:28 Another double translation appears in the rendering "timent et verentur" for εὐλαβοῦνται.
Other noticeable examples of double translation occur in 1:14(15) "et psalmos percutiebant"+"et psalmos decantabant"; 5:61(64) "gaudia magna ingenti et magna voce" for χαρᾶ μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ; cf. also 2:5bc and 6:9(10) δόξῃ.

Frequently pronouns in the Greek are rendered by nouns in the Old Latin, the translator taking the liberty to supply what he conceived to be the antecedent. Sometimes this freedom was warranted by the nature of the situation—e.g., when an αὐτῷ or αὐτῇ would have to be rendered indiscriminately "ei" in the Latin—but oftener it has no such excuse. Thus in 4:31 αὐτῷ . . . . αὐτὸν . . . . αὐτᾷ are interpreted by Colb. "contra regem+et ipse" . . . . "regem" . . . . "regi," respectively. There is some reason for the change here; for in the Latin there might be a question as to which was subject and which object, whether the king or his παλλακή. But

why it should be thought necessary to interpret ἐξ αὐτῶν "ex mulieribus " (4:16), or αὐτοῦ by "Darii" (5:6), or αὐτοῖς by "Judaeis" (6:4) is not so plain; for in each of these cases the meaning is perfectly clear.

Three times the name of Zorobabel is introduced in the Old Latin where there is no support in the Greek or in other versions, viz., in 4:33, 4:43, and 4:58. In the last-named passage, indeed, it takes the place of ὁ νεανίσκος.

Once, at least, (6:12/13) Colb. has expanded a familiar phrase "Domini, qui fecit coelum et terram" to its full form by the addition of "et mare et omnia quae in eis sunt," as found in 4:2. Compare Neh. 9:6, Exod. 20:11, and Ps. 146:6. Probably also the lists of officers in 3:2 and 4:49 have been expanded from similar lists in 3:14; 4:47 (Dan. 3:2).

Similar phenomena occur in 8:16 (17) and 8:17(19), which exhibit a remarkable interdependence. In 8:16(17) πάντα ὅσα ἐὰν is rendered "omnia reliqua quae sunt necessaria" by Colb., λοιπά and ὑποπίπτῃ having been supplied from 8:17(19); while in 8:17(19) τὰ λοιπὰ ὅσα ἐὰν ὑποπίπτῃ is likewise rendered "omnia reliqua quae sunt neces saria," the Old Latin completing the phrase from πάντα of 8:16(17).

A trace of theological apologetics may be the basis of the rendering "ergo digne irasceris" for ὠργίσθης in 8:85(89).

One other striking example of an interpretative rendering by the Old Latin is in 8:87(91), where Colb. in the phrase οὐ γὰρ ἔστι στῆναι ἔτι ἔμπροσθέν σου ἐπὶ τούτοις has rendered ἐπὶ τούτοις by "obruti talibus peccatis," simply because this phrase very clearly refers to ἐσμὲν ἐνώπιόν σου ἐν ταῖς ἀνομίαις ἡμῶν immediately preceding.

A further fault of the Old Latin is its liability to omit words or phrases. Some of these omissions are probably due to corresponding omissions in the Greek text that the translator had before him, and many others are unquestionably the result of subsequent corruption in the Latin; but not all can be so explained. A considerable number of instances are still left, when all possible excuses have been made, that can only be regarded as due to careless oversight. Following are some characteristic cases:

1:3 τοῖς ἱεροδούλοις Ἰσραήλ, descriptive of τοῖς Λευίταις, is omitted by Colb. only. Its presence in Sang. is probably to be explained on the ground of conflation from the Vulgate or of correction from the Greek.

1:4 θεραπεύετε is in all Gk cods., and is rendered by Vulg. "curam agite"; but Colb. omits.

1:11(12) ἐν πυρί Colb. alone omits.

1:31(33) ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ νῦν, ἱστόρηται is in all codices and in the Vulgate, but Old Latin omits. Here the context rather demands at least ἱστόρηται.

1:33(35); 1:47(49) ἐν Ἰερουσαλήμ Colb. seems to have ignored the ἐν in its translation.

    Similarly in 2:18(21) in rendering ἐν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν πατέρων σου βιβλίοις Colb. lacks a very needful "in libris" between "inspicias" and "patrum tuorum."

5:11 υἱοὶ Φααθμωαβ εἰς τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰησοῦ. Colb. omits τοὺς υἱούς, and joins εἰς to what precedes, making "Phammoabis Jesu." This, however, is probably the result of an inferior Greek text.

6:4 Colb. omits καὶ τὴν στέγην ταύτην, found in all Greek codices and in the Vulgate.

6:6–7 Colb. leaves out about half a verse, evidently by accident because of the occurrence of Δαρίῳ twice, a case of homoioteleuton.

    A similar omission of εἰς τὴν χώραν τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ ἐλθόντες occurs in 6:8.

There are a large number of these omissions on the part of the Old Latin scattered throughout I Esdras.

Additional light is thrown on this question by a different type of error. For instance, in 2:3 Colb. has "Dominus," having read Κῦρος as Κύριος. Again, in 8:46(48) Colb. reads "viros peritos de viros," where both Greek and sense demand "viros peritos de filiis." The second "viros" in Colb. is evidently a careless repetition from the first "viros."

Unquestionably, therefore, the Old Latin is far from being an infallible witness. Partly because of the character of the translator, and in still larger measure because of faulty textual transmission, it is evident that we must use this source also with the greatest caution and view its unsupported readings with the utmost suspicion.

### V. THE VULGATE

This is the common Latin version. First Esdras in this version bears the distinction of being one of three books assigned a secondary place in the Old Testament canon by the Roman Catholic church.

As to its date, we can place it definitely as early as the time of Cyprian, about 250 A.D. In chap. 9 of Epistle LXXIV, a letter addressed to Pompey in opposition to the position of Stephen of Rome on the subject of the baptism of heretics, he says: "veritas manet et invalescit in aeternum et vivit et optinet in saecula saeculorum. nec est apud eam accipere personam nec differentias, sed quae sunt justa facit, nec est judicio ejus iniquum, et fortitudo et regnum et majestas et potestas omnium saeculorum. benedictus Deus veritatis." This is an almost verbatim quotation from the Vulgate of I Esdras 4:38–40, with the exception that Cyprian omits a line after "sed quae sunt justa facit." (The Old Latin differs quite widely, so that it is out of the question that this is what Cyprian had.) Probably, therefore, the Vulgate translation was made some time in the first half of the third century A.D.

## VI. RELATION OF THE VULGATE TO THE OLD LATIN

Many questions at once arise in this connection, especially in regard to the possibility that these may either be independent translations or divergent streams from a single Latin original. The usual assumption appears to be voiced by two brief allusions in recent critical articles. One is by H. A. A. Kennedy in his article on "Latin Versions" in Hasting's *Dictionary of the Bible;* referring to I Esdras he says: "Probably, the Vulgate is an emended form of the other [i.e., the Old Latin] version." The other is by F. C. Burkitt in his article on "Text and Versions" in the *Encyclopedia Biblica* (§ 38): "The Old Testament 'Apocrypha'—i.e., those books of the Greek Old Testament which are not in the Hebrew canon— were left more or less untouched by Jerome; *in these books, therefore, the Old Latin survives in the Vulgate.*" I cannot answer for the other apocryphal books, but in the case of I Esdras I must wonder on what evidence this conclusion is based. In one sense Burkitt is right, viz., that the Vulgate is a very old Latin translation, but not in the sense that his words seem to imply; for undefined, his assertion regarding "*the* Old Latin" can hardly mean otherwise than that of Kennedy, that "the Vulgate is an emended form of the other version," namely, of the one now surviving in the Codex Colbertinus. With this position I must take positive issue. I do not find the

slightest indication of an "emended" text in the Vulgate, nor scarcely knowledge of the Old Latin on the part of the Vulgate translator. The evidence bearing on these points will be presented in the following pages.

1. *The Old Latin and the Vulgate Independent Translations*

In the first place, of the 450 verses of I Esdras there are just two verses that are exactly alike in both Colbertinus and the Vulgate. This does not, to be sure, take into account a considerable number of verses whose divergence is very slight and trifling, such as might easily be accounted for on the basis of textual transmission. Allowing a liberal margin for these, we still have a large residue of verses so different in language and idiom that it is impossible to believe that they are other than separate translations. Even in those sections where we are most certain that the two versions go back to an identical Greek original this difference of idiom is as marked as one could wish.

The traits of the two translators are likewise distinctive. The Vulgate is literal, to a fault; the Old Latin is free—also to a fault. The former hesitates to paraphrase to avoid an ambiguity; the latter paraphrases even when there is no ambiguity. The vocabulary employed by the two translators is also distinctive. For example, the Old Latin has the preposition "de" universally in places where the Vulgate employs "ex"; the conjunction "quia" in the Old Latin is equivalent to "quoniam" in the Vulgate; "is" in the Old Latin corresponds to "ille" or "ipse" of the Vulgate; "facio" of the Old Latin is usually rendered "ago" by the Vulgate; and "sanctus" of the Old Latin is likely to appear as "sacer" in the Vulgate. Other similar differences of vocabulary there are, but these are the most common. It seems the extreme of improbability that one who was simply "emending" the Old Latin should have taken the trouble to change at the same time the whole vocabulary, especially in such a minor particular as "de" to "ex," or "is" to "ille."

But we will take some particular examples. In the following, care has been used to select passages where the Greek is best attested as well as where there is least suspicion of corruption in the Latin

itself.    These are by no means isolated or unusual cases, but such
as can be duplicated almost at random.

1:4        οὐκ ἔστιν ὑμῖν ἆραι αὐτὴν ἐπ᾽ ὤμων
    O.L.    non portabitis arcam in humeris.
    Vulg.   non erit vobis tollere super humeros eam.

            (Here "arcam" of the Old Latin is probably interpre-
            tative, though possibly a corruption of "eam.")

1:22(24)   τὰ κατ᾽ αὐτὸν δὲ ἀναγέγραπται ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις
    O.L.    actus ejus quidem conscriptus est, de his qui ante
    Vulg.   quae circa illum conscripta sunt, in pristinis temporibus

           περὶ τῶν ἡμαρτηκότων καὶ ἠσεβηκότων εἰς τὸν Κύριον
                peccaverunt  in Domino    sceleratius
           de his qui peccaverunt quique irreligiosi fuerunt in Dominum

           παρὰ πᾶν ἔθνος καὶ βασιλείαν
           quam universae gentes
           prae omni gente

1:29(31)   ἐπὶ τὸ ἅρμα αὐτοῦ τὸ δεύτερον καὶ ἀποσταθεὶς εἰς Ιερουσαλήμ
    O.L.    in currum ejus secundum, et deductus venit in Hierusalem
    Vulg.   super currum secundarium suum, et perveniens Jerosolymam

1:52       ἕως οὗ θυμωθέντα       αὐτὸν        ἐπὶ τῷ    ἔθνει     αὐτοῦ
    O.L.    "donec in ira         exardesceret       adversus   gentem suam
    Vulg.   "qui usque ad iracundiam concitatus est super gentem suam

           διὰ τὰ δυσσεβήματα αὐτῶν
           propter impietates eorum."
           propter irreligiositatem suam."

1:56       καὶ συνετέλεσαν πάντα τὰ ἔνδοξα αὐτῆς ἀχρειῶσαι
    O.L.    "et diruere        omnia praeclara ejus evertentes,
    Vulg.   "et comsummaverunt omnia honorifica ejus, ad nihilum

                        καὶ τοὺς ἐπιλοίπους
                        & reliquos qui remanserunt"
           redegerunt, & reliquos              "

2:20       ἐπεὶ ἐνεργεῖται τὰ κατὰ τὸν ναὸν, καλῶς ἔχειν ὑπολαμβάνομεν μὴ
    O.L.    "quia instatur  opera templi, aestimavimus bonum esse
    Vulg.   "quia id agitur circa  templum, recte habere arbitrari sumus

                   ὑπεριδεῖν τὸ τοιοῦτο
           non omittere
           non despicere hoc ipsum"

2:29    μὴ προβῇ ἐπὶ πλεῖον τὰ τῆς κακίας εἰς τὸ

    O.L. "non proficiat amplius malitiae occasio

    Vulg. "nec procedunt in plurimum ea, quae sunt malitiae,

            βασιλεῖς ἐνοχλεῖσθαι

    ad      commovendos reges"

    ita ut regibus molestia importetur"

8:86    οὐ ζητήσετε εἰρηνεῦσαι τὰ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὸν ἄπαντα χρόνον ἵνα

    O.L. "non desiderabitis declinare ad eos cum pace omni tempore ut

    Vulg. "non inquiretis      pacem habere cum illis    omni tempore ut

    ἰσχύσαντες φάγετε τὰ ἀγαθὰ τῆς γῆς· καὶ κληρονομήσητε

    confortati      manducetis optima terrae & haeredes

    invalescentes manducetis optima terrae & haereitatem

            τοῖς υἱοῖς ὑμῶν ἕως αἰῶνος

    facietis      filios vestros usque in aeternum"

    distribuatis filiis vestris usque in aevum"

8:90(91)    οὐ γὰρ ἐστι στῆναι ἔτι ἔμπροσθέν σου ἐπί τούτοις

    O.L. "non enim possumus stare adhuc ante faciem tuum

    Vulg. "non est adhuc stare              ante te

    obrutis talibus peccatis

      in his

        (This last example is also a good illustration of the Old
Latin's habit of free paraphrasing.) .

9:4    καὶ ὅσοι ἐὰν μὴ ἀπαντήσωσιν ἐν δυσὶν ἢ τρισὶν ἡμέραις

    O.L. "et quotquot   non convenissent secunda aut tertia

    Vulg. "*ut* quicunque non occurrerit biduo aut         triduo

    κατὰ τὸ κρίμα τῶν προκαθημένων      πρεσβυτέρων

    secundum judicium praesentium presbyterorum

    secundum judicium assidentium seniorum

    ἀνιερωθήσονται τὰ κτήνη αὐτῶν, καὶ αὐτος ἀλλοτριωθήσεται

    publicarentur pecora eorum & ipse hostis vocaretur

    tollerentur      facultates suae & ipse alienus judicaretur

9:20    ἐπέβαλον τὰς χεῖρας τοῦ ἐκβαλεῖν . . . . καὶ εἰς ἐξιλασμόν

    O.L. "immiserunt manus ut projicerent . . . . et obtulerent ad

    Vulg. "injicerunt   manus ut expellerent . . . . et ad litandem in

    placandem

    exorationem

9:24    ἐκ τῶν ἱεροψαλτῶν

    O.L. "de sacra ornata percutientibus

    Vulg. "ex sacris cantoribus

9:36      πάντες οὗτοι συνῴκισαν γυναῖκας ἀλλογενεῖς καὶ ἀπέλυσαν
  O.L.    "hi omnes duxerunt        alienigenas uxores & relinquerunt
  Vulg.   "omnes isti conjungerunt sibi uxores alienigenas & dimiserunt

5:73      καὶ συστάσεις ποιούμενοι ἀπεκώλυσαν τοῦ ἀποτελεσθῆναι
  O.L.    "& congregationes facientes,    prohibuerunt consummari
  Vulg.   "& aggresuras    exercentes, impedierunt ne consummaretur

          τὴν οἰκοδομὴν . . . . καὶ εἴρχθησαν τῆς οἰκοδομῆς ἔτη δύο
          structuram . . . . & prohibiti sunt aedificare annis duobus
          aedificium . . . . & protraxerunt structuram per biennium

8:12(13)  ὅπως ἐπισκέψωνται τὰ κατὰ τὴν              Ἰουδαίαν
  O.L.    "diligenter adtendant                      Judaeae
  Vulg.   "ut visitent        ea (quae aguntur) secundum Judaeam

8:18(19)  τὰ λοιπὰ ὅσα ἐὰν ὑποπίπτῃ σοι        εἴς τὴν χρείαν
  O.L.    "caetera (omnia) quaecunque tibi sunt necessaria ad usum
  Vulg.   "caetera        quaecunque tibi subvenerint ad opera

          τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ[σου], δώσεις ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γαζοφυλακίου
          templi Dei    , dabuntur de    thesauris regis
          templi Dei tui, dabis      de regali gazophylacio
              (The above bracketed words are very doubtful.  They
          are probably free expansions or interpretations.)

8:22(25)  μηδὲ ἄλλην ἐπιβουλὴν γίνεσθαι καὶ μηδένα ἔχειν
  O.L.    "nec aliud onus imponatur,          & nemo habeat
  Vulg.   "neque ulla alia indictio irrogetur, nec habeat quisquam

          ἐξουσίαν ἐπιβαλεῖν τι τούτοις (perhaps originally αὐτοῖς)
          potestatem indicere eis aliquid
          potestatem objicere eis quidquam

8:24(27)  κολαζέσθωσαν, ἐάν τε θανάτῳ, ἐάν τε τιμωρίᾳ, ἢ ἀργυρικῇ
  O.L.    "punientur, sive morte, sive tormentis, sive condemnatione
  Vulg.   "plectantur, sive morte, sive cruciatu,  sive etiam pacuniae

          ζημίᾳ ἢ ἀπογογῇ
          pecuniae, aut exilio.
          mulctatione, vel adductione.

9:38      συνήχθη . . . . τὸ πλῆθος ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐπὶ τὸ εὐρύχωρον τὸ
  O.L.    "convenit       populus uno animo  in aream quae est
  Vulg.   "congregati sunt multitudo simul in aream quae est

          πρὸς ἀνατολὰς τοῦ ἱεροῦ πυλῶνος
          ad orientem portae templi
          ab oriente* portae sacrae

If there is still any doubt remaining as to the independence of these two versions, it must be dissolved when we adduce a few more examples selected from the lists of proper names. In these passages the variations could only have occurred through the two translators having divided the Greek text differently, not being certain as to the proper combinations for the strange foreign names. Thus we find curious mistakes like the following:

9:23        οὗτός ἐστι καλιτας
    O.L.    hic est Ele & Has
    Vulg.    et    Calitas

In this case codices 44, 58 omit οὗτός ἐστι, and 108 omits ἐστι, so that it is possible that the translator of the Vulg. did not have before him exactly the same Greek text that the translator of the Old Latin had. If so, of course no further proof is necessary; since by virtue of such fact the two translations are bound to be independent. But assuming that they both had the same Greek text, even so the Old Latin and the Vulg. cannot be divergent versions of the same Latin translation; for the "Ele & Has" of the Old Latin can hardly have resulted otherwise than through the translator having read the Greek as οὗτός ἐστιν ἁλι κ' ἁς, whereas the translator of the Vulg. correctly read καλιτας.

5:20(19): The Greek is far from certain here, but the following conjectural reading cannot be very far from the original of both Old Latin and Vulgate. Again assuming that the Greek original of both versions was identical, we have:

        ὁι [ἐν χαδιασ[αι] καὶ ἀμωδιοι . . . . ὁι [δ'] ἐκ ηραμας
    O.L.    "qui erant in Necla . . . . bis & modius, & qui decem miras
    Vulg.   "qui   Enocadies         & Modiae, . . . . qui ex Gramas
        γαββης . . . . ὁι ἐκ μακα[δων] . . . .
    . . . . Cabbes  & qui erant Demacha
    &    Gabea (                    )

The confusion in the mind of the translator as to the meaning of the Greek in this passage could hardly have been greater, or his attempts to translate proper names scarcely more absurd; yet because of this very fact it becomes the more certain that the translator of the Old Latin is not the translator of the Vulgate. Similar variations, easily explained by the aid of the Greek, are found in

5:21 and 5:36; but it is needless to multiply instances further. We might include an interesting example (8:11), where ὥρα (Hebr. עֵת) has been misread as χώρα by the Old Latin, which translates it accordingly "regio"; but the Vulgate has correctly rendered it "tempus."

(It might be observed that it is barely possible that the Old Latin had before it a Greek text which originally read χρόνος, subsequently corrupted to χώρα; but this is less likely.)

## 2. *The Old Latin and the Vulgate Descended from Slightly Different Greek Originals*

That the Old Latin and the Vulgate are independent translations receives additional confirmation from the evidence we have that these two versions do not come from identical Greek prototypes. The variations that are attested are not as a rule very wide ones; yet they are too many, and a considerable number of them too unmistakable, to permit of doubt on this point. For conclusive evidence as to this, the Lucian text is extremely important, for it has preserved many readings not otherwise known in the Greek texts. A number of such readings were in the Greek from which the Old Latin translation was made. On the other hand, not a few variations between the Old Latin and the Vulgate can be traced to differences of groups within the "A" line of tradition. I say "A" line of tradition, because—as we shall see later—neither the Old Latin nor the Vulgate belongs to the "B" group; and these two Latin versions, though possibly not strictly of the "A" group, do yet show far closer agreement with this branch of the Greek tradition than with the "B" group.

Following are some of the more important and unmistakable instances of the divergent tradition from which these two Latin versions were derived:

1:3   The Vulgate reads "in positione sanctae arcae," which corresponds literally to Gk A, B, etc., ἐν τῇ θέσει τῆς ἁγίας κιβωτοῦ, but Colb. has "et posuerunt arcam sanctam," the Gk of which is found only in a variant conflate reading of "L" (cod. 108) καὶ ἔθηκαν τὴν ἁγίαν καβωτόν.
1:4   Colb. "nunc autem" is equivalent to cod. 108 νῦν οὖν; but Vulg. "et nunc" comes from Gk A, B, etc., which have καὶ νῦν.

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1:49(51) Colb. "angelos"=τοὺς ἀγγέλους of cods. 52, 64, 108, 119, 243, 248, Ald. But Vulg. "in angelis"=ἐν τοῖς ἀγγέλοις of al. cod.

2:6 Colb. "& dent animum Domino"=cod. 108, καὶ προθυμείσθωσαν τῷ Κυρίῳ, which Gk A, B, etc., agree with Vulg. in omitting.

4:53 Vulg. has "qui praecedunt"=Gk A, B, etc., τοῖς προσβαίνουσιν. But Colb. agrees with cod. 108 in omitting.

    (MS Sang. does have this; but it appears to have gotten it either from the Vulgate or directly from the Gk itself.)

4:55 Colb. has "dari"=δοθῆναι of cod. 108; but Vulg. "dare"=δοῦναι of all other Gk codices.

4:59 Colb. consilium=ἡ βουλή of cods. 108, 121; but Vulgate and all other codices omit.

    Vulg. "abs te"=Gk A, B, etc., παρὰ σου; cod. 108 and Colb. omit.

5:7 Vulg.="sunt autem hi," corresponding to εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι of Gk A, B, etc.; but Colb. and cod. 108 omit.

An unusual case is that of a reading found in the Vulgate in 1:25. Here Colb. follows the regular Greek reading πρὸς αὐτόν, translating it "ad eum." But the Vulg. has "ad Josiam," which finds support in a quotation of Theodotion in *Cat. Nic.* ii, 943, πρὸς Ἰωσίαν.

6:17(18) Colb. "omnia"=19, 108 πάντα; but AB has πάλιν=Vulg. "rursus." Colb. "tradidit ea"=cod. 245, παρέδωκεν αὐτά (71 has παρέδωκε without αὐτά). Other cods. have παρεδόθη, equivalent to Vulg. "tradita sunt."

6:22(23) Colb. agrees with B and L in omitting εἶς after τόπος. Vulgate has "unus."

6:23(24) Colb. "aedificari"=L, 71, 121 οἰκοδομηθῆναι. Vulgate, however, has "aedificare," following the usual reading οἰκοδομῆσαι.

6:24(25) Colb. gives the height of the temple that was to be built as "cubitorum sexaginta," from the ordinary reading πήχων ἐξήκοντα. But Vulg. has "decem," preserved elsewhere only by cod. 106 in a marginal reading from another hand.

6:30(31) Colb. "hostiae"=αἱ θυσίαι of 19, 108. Vulg. has "libationes" from Gk AB, σπόνδαι.

7:4 At the end of this verse Colb. has "usque in sextum annum Darii regis Persarum," from ἕως τοῦ ἕκτου ἔτους Δαρίου βασιλέως Περσῶν of A, N, 52, 55, 64, 119, 245, 248, Alex. (58, in part). The Vulg. agrees with all other codices in omitting.

8:6(7) Colb.="Hierusalem" of AB and most cursives. Vulg. agrees with N, 64, 245, 248, Ald., Alex., Ἱεροσόλυμα, in reading "Jerosolymam."

8:20(22) Colb. "sal"=ἅλα of cods. 58, 106, 121, 134, 236(74) and Hebr. But other cods. have ἀλλά, and similarly Vulg. "alia."

8:21(23) Colb. "diligenter"=ἐπιμελῶς of most Gk MSS. Vulg., however, omits with B, L, and 71, 74.

8:55(56) Colb. "sicut muneravit"=οὕτως ἐδωρήσαντο of most codices. The Vulgate has ἃ ἐδωρήσατο of cods. 68, 71, 120, 121, 236, 245.

8:64(68) Colb. "Syriae"=Συρίας simply of B and L. V, however, has "Coelesyriae"=κοίλης Συρίας of A.

8:65(69) Colb. "ad Esdram"=τῷ Ἔσδρᾳ of 19, 108. But Vulgate "ad me"=μοι of AB.

The same differences of first and third persons, with necessary supplemental changes, occur in the verses immediately following, 8:68(72); 69(73); 71(75); the Old Latin in all cases agreeing with L against the Vulgate and AB.

### 3. The Old Latin and the Vulgate Closer to the A Group than to the Hexaplaric Text

I have previously in this article referred to Greek A as being nearer the type of Greek transmitted by the Latin than is the B group. This is important to note, for B has regularly been accepted with slight question as being superior to the A tradition; yet the Old Latin is a powerful witness, and ought not to be lightly passed over. The following list is anything but exhaustive. The A readings are given first.

1:8 Συῆλος] in some A cods. appearing as Ησύηλος; O.L. "Suelus" (the Vulgate has omitted the entire line by accident). But B has Ἠσύηλος, corrected by B$^{a?b}$ to ἡ σύνοδος.

1:9 πρόβατα πεντακισχίλια] The O.L. and Vulg. have "ovium(oves) quinque millia." But B has πρόβατα χίλια.

1:36(38) Ζαρακην] Here the O.L. reads "Zachariam," transposing the consonants ρ and κ for the more familiar name. The Vulgate attests their proper order by "Zaracelem." In B the Greek has become permanently corrupted to Ζάριον.

1:53(56) τοὺς ἐπιλοίπους ἀπὸ ῥομφαίας ἀπήγαγον] The Vulgate translates accurately "reliquos a gladio duxerunt," and the O.L. somewhat more freely "reliquos qui remanserunt a gladio duxerunt." But B has changed the Greek around slightly, and so "improved"(?) to read with different meaning τοὺς ἐπιλοίπους ἀπήγαγεν μετὰ ῥομφαίας.

2:16(17) κριταί] This is omitted by B, but appears in A just before ἐν κοίλῃ Συρίᾳ καὶ Φοινίκῃ. It is attested in both the O.L. and the Vulgate by "judices."

A slight, though suggestive, variation occurs in 2:20(24), where instead of κάθοδος — O.L. and Vulg. "descensus" — B has ἔξοδος.

4:45 Ιδουμαῖοι] Both O.L. and Vulg. have "Idumaei"; but B reads Ιουδαῖοι. The same divergences appear again in 4:50.

The argument from the forms of proper names is largely vitiated by the fact that they have passed through such a long process of corruption in the Latin itself. Nevertheless the trend of the evidence seems to me unmistakable, for some of the instances are quite clear and convincing.

5:9 Σαφατ] This name is supported by "Safat" of O.L. But both B and Vulg. omit. B does, it is true, have an Ασαφ written in the margin from a later hand; but the omission by Vulg. indicates that some texts did not have it.

5:11 Φααθ] in the compound Φααθμωαβ. Colb. has "Fammoabis," joining the following εἰς of the Greek to the proper name. The Vulg. reads "Phoemo," omitting the remainder. But B has Φθαλει.

Ιωαβ] Colb. "Job," and Vulg. "Joabes." B reads Ροβοαβ.

5:14 Αδινου] Colb. reads "Adinue" and Vulg. "Adin"; but B has Αδειλιου.

8:2 Αμαριου] Vulg. has "Ameri," and Colb. with a familiar corruption "Abariae." B, however, has Αμαρθειου.

Σαδδουκου] Colb. and Vulg. "Sadoc." But B reads Σαδδουλουκου.

5:24 Ἀνασιβ (or Σανασιβ)] Colb. has "Enassibe," and Vulg. "Eliasib." B reads Σαναβεις, transposing the last two consonants.

5:32 Μεεδδα] This is supported by Colb. "Gedda," and is rendered exactly by Vulg. "Meedda." But B has Δεδδα.

Immediately following, Gk A reads υἱοὶ Κυθα, υἱοὶ Χαρεα, the original of Colb. "filii Cutha, filii Caret," and of Vulg. "filii Phusa, filii Caree." But B omits entirely. In this same verse "Barches" of Colb. and "Barcus" of Vulg. are closer to Βαρχουε of A than Βαχους of B.

5:37 Δαλαν] This form is attested by Colb. "Dathan" and by Vulg. "Dalari"; but B has Ασαν.

9:31 Αδδι Νααθος] Colb. has "Jadina Athus" and Vulg. "Addin Naathus." B has Αδδειν Λαθος.

9:34 Ιωσηθος] Vulg. has "Josephus" (Colb. omits); B has Φοσηπος.

9:46 Εσδρας] Colb. reads "Esdra" and Vulg. "Esdras"; but B has Αζαριας.

9:48 Ιακουβος Σαβαταιος] Colb. has "Acub et Sabbathaeus" and Vulg. "Accubus et Sabbathaeus." But B reads Ιαρσουβοος, Αβταιος.

9:31 Ματθανιας] Colb. has "Matthanias" and Vulg. "Mathathias." B, however, reads Βεσκασπασμυς.

Certain of the plus and minus quantities of A and B are quite important in this regard. For example, in 7:4b A has a line not found in B, but attested by the Old Latin; it is ἕως τοῦ ἕκτου ἔτους Δαρίου Βασιλέως Περσῶν, exactly equivalent to "usque in sextum annum Darii regis Persarum" of Colb.

8:20(22) At the end of this verse A reads καὶ ἄλλα ἐκ πλήθους· πάντα. This is supported by Colb. and Vulg. alike. Colb. has "caetera sine

mensura. Omnia," and Vulg. "alia (quaecumque abundant) sine taxatione. Omnia." B, however, omits entirely.

8:8(9) B omits a line, δὲ τοῦ γραφέντος προστάγματος, found in A and supported by both the Old Latin and the Vulgate.

8:25(28) καὶ εἶπεν Εσδρας ὁ γραμματεὺς] B omits; but its authenticity is attested by Colb. "Et dixit Esdras," by Vulg. "Et dixit Esdras scriba," and by Mansi also.

8:46(48) In the place of ἄνδρα ἐπιστημόνα of B, A reads καὶ ἤγαγεν ἡμῖν κατὰ τὴν κρατείαν χεῖρα τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν ἄνδρας ἐπιστημόνας. The Vulgate has "et adduxerunt nobis secundum manum validam Domini (Dei) nostri viros peritos," and Colb. "et adduxerunt nobis secundum fortem Domini viros peritos."

8:47(49) A has at the beginning of this verse καὶ Ασεβιαν καὶ Αννουνον καὶ Ωσαιαν ἀδελφον, attested by Colb. in "et Asbiam et Annunum et Aman fratrem" and by Vulg. in "Asbiam et Amin"; but B omits.

9:11 Both Colb. and Vulg. agree with A in omitting καὶ οὐκ εὕρομεν found in B.

9:9 B omits the words τῶν γυναικῶν in the phrase ἀπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν τῶν ἀλλογενῶν. It is rendered "ab uxoribus aliaenigenis" by the Old Latin and by the Vulgate alike.

8:51(52) B omits αἰτῆσαι τὸν βασιλέα, preserved by A, and rendered by Colb. and Vulg. "petere a rege."

B also omits καὶ (cod. 19, εἰς) προπομπήν of A, and attested by "deductionem" of Colb. and "in comitatu" of Vulg.

8:56(58) χρυσοειδῆ] Colb. has "simili auro" and Vulg. "auri speciem"; but B omits.

8:61(63) B omits τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τετάρτῃ of A. Colb. has "quarta die" and Vulg. similarly "quarta (autem) die."

There are also a number of minor phenomena of the same general character; but since to make an exhaustive comparison of the Greek falls outside the scope of this article, I have purposely refrained from including them. I have aimed to present sufficient proof merely to show beyond the possibility of a doubt the general agreement of both Latin texts with the MSS of the A family rather than with those of the Hexaplaric group. This does not mean that the Latin never follows the Hexaplaric Greek rather than the A family; for that there should be no instances in which the Hexaplaric Greek has preserved a superior reading, or that the Latin has never had an inferior reading of the Greek before it, is more than could reasonably be expected; but that it inclines to A rather than to B in nine cases out of ten is, I feel sure, a modest estimate.

### VII.   THE OLD LATIN FROM A GREEK TEXT OF THE SYRIAN TYPE

Having shown that the Old Latin and the Vulgate are independent versions, and are descended from different Greek originals, our next step is to point out that the Old Latin, at least, is from a type of Greek which differed at important points from the "Egyptian" tradition preserved in the A and B groups.   Much of this evidence has already been presented in our discussion of the contention that the Old Latin and the Vulgate are from different Greek originals; and so much of the data as have been touched upon in previous sections will be alluded to as briefly as possible at this point.   Following are some of the more important instances.   Many of the passages show but slight variations, yet all are significant.

1:3 Colb. "et posuerunt arcam sanctam," which reading is attested by cod. 108 καὶ ἔθηκαν τὴν ἁγίαν κιβωτόν.   All codices of the AB groups, however, have ἐν τῇ θέσει τῆς ἁγίας κιβωτοῦ, and this latter is what the translator of the Vulgate had before him.   Furthermore, the Syriac in a conflate reading attests both Colb. and Vulgate.

1:4 Colb. prefixes "et dixit," attested by cod. 108 (and by Gk of II Chron. 35:3).   But all other Gk codices, together with Vulgate, omit.

Colb. "nunc autem" is equivalent to cod. 108, νῦν οὖν.   The other Gk cods. have καὶ νῦν, from which Vulg. gets "et nunc."

Colb. "domus cognationum vestrarum secundum vices dierum" is attested by cod. 108 (and Syr.), τὸν οἶκον τῶν πατριῶν ὑμῶν κατὰ τὰς ἐφημερίας.   Gk A has, however, [καὶ ἑτοιμάσε] κατὰ τὰς πατρίας καὶ τὰς φυλὰς, and this is the original of the Vulgate, "secundum pagos & tribus vestras."

Colb. "secundum constitionem regis" must be a somewhat free rendering of Colb., διὰ χειρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως (translated literally by the Syriac); for it cannot be from Gk AB κατὰ τὴν μεγαλειότητα, equivalent to Vulg. "secundum magnificentiam."

1:6 Colb. "et pars domus cognationis Levitis et" has no point of similarity with Gk AB, but is exactly equivalent to cod. 108 (again supported by the Syriac), καὶ μέρις οἴκου πατρίας τοῖς Λευίταις · καὶ Gk AB has merely ἐν τάξει, which even Vulg. omits — thus suggesting that it is a later expansion in the Gk, or at least from a different stream than Vulg. represents, and so conflate in cod. 108.

1:5 Colb. "state" cannot come from Gk AB στάντες or πάντες, but only from cod. 108, στῆτε.

1:7(8) Colb. "et principes ejus dederunt initia" has not the slightest resemblance to Gk AB κατ' ἐπαγγελίαν, but is an exact translation of the Gk preserved by cod. 108, καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες αὐτοῦ ἀπήρξαντο.

Similarly in 1:9 Colb. has "initia dederunt," cod. 108, ἀπήρξαντο. Gk AB = ἔδωκαν.

But possibly the most striking instance is found in 1:10–11. Here L has preserved two long variant readings almost in their entirety. They are so closely parallel that whenever there is an omission in one or the other it is possible to reconstruct with almost absolute assurance the original reading. First L records the Greek from which the Old Latin was made, and follows with the Greek of AB, the original of the Vulgate. (See the text of the passage printed above, under "III. The Witness of the Greek Texts.")

The long omission in the AB form of the Greek, as well as the closer parallel of La, proves conclusively that Colb. comes from a different type of Greek from AB. The omission in AB evidently occurred through the presence of a second κατὰ τὰς μεριδαρχίας[9] before τῶν πατέρων; for to correspond with this La has ἐπὶ τὰς διαιρέσεις . . . . κατὰ τὰς διαιρέσεις. But this corruption also evidently took place quite early, for it is followed closely by the Vulgate.

It is true that L has no parallel for "habebant azyma secundum constitutionem," but in the light of the other parallels it is almost certain that this has been omitted by accident, though possibly by design for a slightly smoother reading of the conflated text.

1:11(12) Colb., "immolaverunt vitulos"= cod. 108, ἔθυσαν τοὺς μόσχους ; but AB have οὕτω τὸ πρωινόν.

1:12(13) Colb., "filiis populo, et ex his"= cod. 108, τοῖς υἱοῖς τοῦ λαοῦ, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ; but Gk AB has τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα.

1:13(14) Colb., "adipes et holocausta"= cod. 108, τὰ στέατα καὶ ὁλοκαυτώματα. But Gk AB has τὰ στέατα only; so Vulg. "adipes" only.

1:15 Colb. adds "& principes"= cod. 108, καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες. All other Gk omits.

1:15(16) Colb., "portarum non discedebant unusquisque a servitute sua" is much nearer to cod. 108, πύλης καὶ πύλης οὐκ ἦν αὐτοῖς κινεῖσθαι ἕκαστον ἀπὸ τῆς λειτουργίας αὐτῶν than it is to AB ἐφ' ἑκάστου πυλῶνος· οὐκ ἔστι παραβῆναι ἕκαστον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἐφημερίαν.

1:16(17) Colb. prefixes "et directum est"= cod. 108, καὶ κατωρθώθη. No other Gk has this.

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[9] μεριδαρχίας may be a substitution for the original reading διαιρέσεις by the Egyptian recensors; but in any case it is clear that the omitted section is the result of homoioteleuton in the Greek, and that this occurred relatively early.

1:16(18) Colb., "ut facerent Pascha, et offerent holocausta"=cod. 108, τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸ φασεχ καὶ ἐνεγκεῖν τὰ ὁλοκαυτώματα, to correspond with which Gk AB has simply ἀχθῆναι τὸ πάσχα.

1:18(20) Colb., "a diebus"=cod. 108, ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμερῶν. Gk AB has ἀπὸ τῶν χρόνων.

2:6 Colb., "& dent animum Domino"= cod. 108, καὶ προθυμείσθωσαν τῷ Κυρίῳ. No other Gk codex has this.

3:21(22) Colb., "sine litteris," cannot be a translation of Gk AB διὰ ταλάντων (Vulg., "per talanta"), but of Gk represented by cod. 108, διὰ γραμμάτων—an original δίχα becoming διά through error of transmission. Even Sang. retains "sine litteris."

4:52 The omission of ἑπτακαίδεκα before τάλαντα, found in all Gk except cod. 108, by Colb., Sang., Vulg., and Syriac.

4:55 Colb., "dari"=cod.108, δοθῆναι. Gk AB has δοῦναι (=Vulg., "dare").

6:3 Colb. has "cum eis," equivalent to αὐτοῖς in the phrase συνόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν προφητῶν. Gk AB omits this αὐτοῖς, and it is preserved in L only. It is further attested by the Vulg., which has "eis."

6:31 The reading "hostiae . . . . instanter" of Colb. has no parallel in AB, but is supported by L in αἱ θυσίαι . . . . ἐνδελεχῶς.

8:90(95) Colb. inserts an "exsurgentes dixerunt Esdrae," supported by L, but occurring in no AB MS except the doubtful cod. 121.
          (Cod. 121 lies between AB and L, and in this particular section is closer to L.)

9:1 Colb. has no equivalent for Ἰωνὰν τοῦ Νασίβου. This might be regarded as an accidental omission but for the fact that L also omits entirely.

Many more illustrations could be adduced, but it seems to me that these are already more than sufficient. The conclusion is, that the Old Latin version of First Esdras, now surviving in the Colbertinus MS, was a generally faithful (though occasionally somewhat free) rendering of a Greek text of the Syro-Palestinian type which formed the basis of the L recension.

### VIII.   THE VULGATE AND OUR EGYPTIAN GREEK TEXT

There is no doubt that the Vulgate follows, in general, the Egyptian type of text; but it is important the observe that its Greek original differed, at a number of points, from the form of the Egyptian recension which is known to us. The instances are neither very numerous nor very striking where these points of departure from the Egyptian Greek occur; moreover a number of them might individually be explained on other grounds. Yet enough of them, it

seems to me, show unmistakable evidence of coming from a Greek text which had readings no longer preserved in our Egyptian Greek to carry with them most of the other less certain cases. Some of these unusual readings, as we should expect, are supported by the L Greek.

In 4:63 we have the conclusion of an account of the religious ceremonies and festivities which accompanied the arrival of the royal decree permitting the return and authorizing the rebuilding of the temple. Colb. ends with "et cymbalis percutiebant cum musicis in gaudio magno diebus septem." Sang. reads "et exsultaverunt cum cymbalis et cum musicis percutiebant diebus septem," this being manifestly a conflation of the Old Latin with the Vulgate "et exsultaverunt cum musicis et laetitia diebus septem." There is here not the slightest suspicion of contamination of the Vulgate from the Old Latin. Now every extant Greek manuscript reads καὶ ἐκωθωνίζοντο μετὰ μυσικῶν καὶ χαρᾶς ἡμέρας ἑπτά. This can certainly not be the verb which the Old Latin read here; for κωθωνίζω means "to drink heavily; to get drunk," and we could explain such rendering only on the grounds of a great softening of what sounded like a very harsh and unpleasant statement to the translator. It is easier to suppose a different Greek reading, especially as a simple conjectural change in the present Greek supplies the very word we want; it is the substitution of δ for θ; for the verb κωδωνίζω gives just the meaning we require, and undoubtedly before the translator of the Old Latin. Whether or not this was the original of the Vulgate rendering "exsultaverunt" is admittedly doubtful, for the conjectured κωδωνίζω means properly "to make a clanging noise by striking bells or cymbals," and although "exsultaverunt" might well be used to translate such a verb, it might also be a softening of the objectionable κωθωνίζω. In any event this instance has served to indicate that the Old Latin, at least, has preserved readings quite lost in the Greek. Of course, this is hardly a separate Greek reading; but rather indicates a very slight corruption of the original. It is merely suggestive of what might and unquestionably did often occur in the transmission of the text, viz., that a certain reading should become *entirely* excluded or supplanted by another.

A somewhat similar instance is found in 6:25. The text here

seems a trifle confused, and may have been corrupt when the translations were made. But if so, it appears to have become even more corrupt since; for in place of the phrase διὰ δόμων both Colb. and Vulgate have "quadratum." This coincidence in two versions otherwise quite diverse is not without a certain force. Whatever the original, we can be reasonably certain it was *not* διὰ δόμων.

A third important passage bearing on this point is 3:21. All Gk MSS have καρδίας ποιεῖ πλουσίας, and this reading is followed by the Mansi version, "animas facit divites." Both Colb. and Vulg. give quite a different meaning. Colb. has "corda facit honesta" (so also Sang.), and Vulg. has "praecordia facit honesta." In view of this fact it would appear that the Greek original of the Old Latin and the Vulgate was probably ἁπλούσας, a relatively easy variant of πλουσίας.

1:9 Vulg. has "vitulos quingentos," supported by cod. 108, μόσχους πεντακοσίους. All other Gk reads μόσχους ἑπτακοσίους.

1:14 Gk AB has τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἀδελφοῖς. But Vulg. (and Colb.) omit any equivalent for ἱερεῦσιν, reading simply "fratribus."

1:37(39) "in terra Juda" of the Vulg. (Colb., Sang.="in Judaea") is closer to cod. 108, ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ than to AB τῆς Ἰουδαίας.

4:52 All Gk, except cod. 108, have ἑπτακαίδεκα before τάλαντα. Vulg., Colb., Sang., and Syriac all agree with cod. 108 in omitting.

8:60(62) Vulg., "Thia"=L, Θεια, and not AB, Θερα.

8:88(92) Vulg. adds "et juvenculae" to its list of the returning exiles— the "viri et mulieres et juvenes"—only in L, καὶ παιδάρια. (Even Colb. omits this!)

9:12 Vulg. has an "apud se," only in L, παρ' ἑαυτοῖς. Colb. likewise reads "apud se."

9:13 Vulg., "ex omni loco"=L, ἐξ ἑκάστου τόπου, and not AB, ἐκ τοῦ τόπου.

1:33(35) A slight indication of a different reading is the unusual "Jerosolymis"=L, Ἱεροσολύμοις, where all other Gk has Ἱερουσαλήμ. Colb. likewise has "Jerosolymis."

4:48 The word κοίλη in the phrase κοίλη Συρίᾳ καὶ Φοινίκη is omitted by both Vulg. and Colb. All Greek has this full expression, and it also appears in Sang. and Mans.; but as the former of these two MSS shows evidence of late correction from the AB type of Greek, and the latter is a late translation anyway, their testimony is of relatively small value. On the other hand, we see from such passages as 1:10–11 that the AB families early suffered some slight permanent corruption; so that it seems to me most probable that the Vulg. and

the Colb. did come from a text which lacked the κοίλη—either because slightly inferior, or else that this word was subsequently added to make the phrase conform to the usual one, as above.

6:2(3) Vulg. "cum adessent eis prophetae Domni et" is exactly equivalent to L συνόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν προφητῶν τοῦ Κυρίου καί; but AB omits αὐτοῖς, and καί is preserved doubtfully only by cod. 58.

6:10(11) Both Vulg. and Colb. omit any equivalent for τούτων in the phrase τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τούτων, though all Greek except cods. 19 and 44 have it. Inasmuch as cod. 44 is very prone to abridge, it is probably safe to ignore this one A codex, and regard L alone as preserving the original text of Vulg. and Colb.

6:11(12) Both Vulg. and Colb. begin the verse with "idea." No support for this reading is found in the present Greek, and it may possibly be a free rendering in each version; yet the Hebrew has רָאָה, which is far from being conclusive, it is true, but which may yet indicate an authentic Greek equivalent.

8:40 This entire verse is wanting in both Vulg. and Colb. It appears in AB and L; but that its omission is scarcely accidental in the Latin is attested by the omission likewise by cods. 52, 119, and by the fact that cod. 64 has it only in a marginal reading.

A rather doubtful, but not impossible, passage occurs in 1:24(26), where πρὸς αὐτόν of ABL (Colb., "ad eum") is rendered "ad Josiam" by the Vulgate. This certainly sounds like an interpretative paraphrase. On the other hand, Vulg. is not given to free renderings; nor does there seem to be the slightest need of such an interpretation here; for there is no ambiguity in the reading of Colb. "ad eum." It is fortunate, therefore, that we have a reading which is an exact equivalent of the Vulgate, πρὸς Ἰωσίαν, given by Theodotion, in *Cat. Nic.*, ii, 943.

In addition, the Vulgate occasionally agrees with Colb. against AB in difference of tense or mood; e.g., in 8:24(27), where AB has κολασθήσονται, the Vulgate renders "plectantur" (Colb., "punientur"). But L has κολαζέσθωσαν.

It is at just this point that the Mansi version furnishes some valuable corroboratory evidence. In 4:34 our present Greek reads καὶ ταχὺς τῷ δρόμῳ ὁ ἥλιος ὅτι στρέφεται ἐν τῷ κύκλῳ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κτλ, which finds no exact equivalent in any Latin version. Colb. reads "et velox cursus solis convertitur in gyro coeli etc.," and Vulg., "et velox cursus solis convertit in gyro coelum etc." The evidence

of these two versions in themselves would be rather doubtful, even
though we know that as versions they are quite independent. Even
the witness of Sang., "et velox cursus solis quem convertit," etc.,
would hardly prove beyond a doubt that the Latin has preserved
authentic readings; though the addition of "quem" may indicate
that its redactor has referred to the Greek at this point, and if so, it
would be easiest to conclude that the Greek the redactor had before him
was very similar to that which we would naturally think the original
translators of Colb. and the Vulgate had before them, with the addition
of some particle similar to the ὅτι of the present Greek. But when
we take into account the independent witness of the Mansi version,
with its different vocabulary and its different idiom, reading "et
citatus cursu solis regredietur," etc., it becomes practically certain
that Colb. and Vulg. do represent an authentic Greek reading.
Furthermore, we can trace the development of the corruption
in the Greek. The earlier form of the Greek was undoubtedly
καὶ ταχὺς ὁ δρόμος τοῦ ἡλίου στρέφεται κτλ, attested by Colb.
and Vulg. The next distinct step was that suggested by Mans.,
when ὁ δρόμος becomes τῷ δρόμῳ. The third stage is our present
Greek.

A similar case appears in 8:12(13), where Gk A reads ἀκολούθως
ὡς ἔχει (119, ὡς ἔχεις. B, ᾧ ἔχεις) ἐν τῷ νόμῳ Κυρίου. Now Colb.
reads "et obediant omnes legi Dei," which at first sight looks like an
all around corruption, or a very free paraphrase. But when we com-
pare the rendering of the Vulgate, which here as elsewhere follows the
Greek quite closely—"observantes sicut habes in lege Domini"—it
seems far simpler and more probable to conjecture an original ἀκο-
λουθοῦντες in place of the present ἀκολούθως. And this conjecture
is supported by the Mansi version, which has "quod consequens
est secundum legem quam habes." To be sure, the text is not per-
fectly certain here, and the order is reversed as well; but the form
of the Mansi version can better be explained on the basis of a par-
ticiple rather than a preposition in the Greek, or possibly both
participle and preposition by dittography. The Mansi rendering
also suggests that this participle had become singular instead of
plural at the time this version was made, and so provides an easy
step for the change to its present form.

Inasmuch as it is a characteristic of the Mansi translator to shorten redundant expressions, it is not always easy to determine whether or not he had such expanded form of the Greek before him. But in a few instances I think we can say, without any hesitancy, that he probably did not. One such is found in 4:37 in πάντα τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν, πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα. Every Greek codex has this (except 245, which omits the entire section.) Yet every Latin version— Colb., Vulg., and Mans.—omits the second member, πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα. In view of this fact it seems to me that we must regard the πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα as a corruption of πάντα τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν.

Somewhat different is the case of the τότε which appears twice in 4:41 in the line καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς τότε ἐφώνησεν καὶ τότε εἶπον. This τότε is omitted in each instance by Vulg. and Mans., and Colb. has it only at the beginning in "tunc omnis populus" etc., i.e., as if from τότε πᾶς ὁ λαὸς κτλ. That Colb. preserves the Aramaic idiom is apparent at once; for τότε must be here, as elsewhere, simply the rendering of the familiar בֵּאדַיִן or אֱדַיִן used only to intro- duce a clause. Evidently this τότε which was in the Greek original of Colb.—but probably not in the original of Vulg. and Mans.— eventually became a part of all Greek MSS through conflation, and at last was repeated a second time by copyists.

Another example of late accretion appears in 4:46 where all Greek codices agree in reading ἵνα ποιήσῃς τὴν εὐχὴν ἣν ηὔξω τῷ βασιλεῖ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ποιῆσαι ἐκ στόματός σου, but where Colb., Vulg., and Mans. are at one in omitting the word ποιῆσαι. In view of their united testimony it is improbable that this phrase appeared in the Greek from which these translations were made, though of course not impossible that it was in some Greek tradition by this time. It may possibly have originated in a careless repetition of the preceding ποιήσῃς.

In 4:47 in the list of officers, οἰκονόμους καὶ τοπάρχας καὶ στρατηγοὺς καὶ σατράπας, both Vulgate and Mansi lack an equivalent for καὶ τοπάρχας, though Colb. has "et praefectos locorum." All Greek codices have the list in full; yet the insecurity of the text is indicated by the varying order in the different codices. Since these lists are especially subject to addition—cf. 3:2; 3:14; 4:49; Dan. 3:2—and as it is difficult to suppose that either Mans. or Vulg.

would have omitted this phrase had it been in the Greek which their authors had before them, we should probably conclude that here, too, we have an accurate translation of the Greek original of these two Latin versions.

Probably the word μόνος—8:25(28)—in the phrase εὐλογητὸς μόνος ὁ κύριος is likewise a late accretion. All Greek except cods. 71 and 108 have it; but Colb., Vulg., and Mans. alike omit.

In 2:14(15) the Greek reads ἀνενέχθη δὲ ὑπὸ Σαναβασσαρου ἅμα τοῖς ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ. For this Colb. has "adtulit Sabassaro cum his qui revertebantur de Babylonia in Hierosolymam," and Vulg. "et enumerata sunt Salmanasaro simul cum his qui ex captivitate Babyloniae venerunt in Jerosolymam." Separately either one of these might be regarded as a rather free translation, but hardly so collectively; for, although the phrase οἱ ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας did become practically equivalent to "the returned" and might be so rendered by some translators, there is no reason to think that the Latin translators of I Esdras so rendered it. On the contrary, in the other instances where we meet this expression it is uniformly translated "captivitas" by both Colb. and Vulg.; cf. 5:7; 5:54(56); 5:64(67); 6:8; 6:27(28); 7:6; 7:10, 12, 13; 8:63(66); 8:74(78); 9:3; 9:15. Moreover, in the present instance the Vulgate has, as usual, this phrase "qui ex captivitate," but has added a word not found in any Greek text— "venerunt"—though supported by Colb. "revertebantur." Therefore the presumption which naturally arises from the fact that the Vulgate does stick so very literally to the Greek receives important verification in this case also. For there is no apparent reason why the addition of "venerunt" should have been deemed necessary by the Vulgate translator. But there is one further consideration; the Colb. translator evidently did not have ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας in the Greek which was before him, but some verbal form which he rendered "revertebantur." This is so closely parallel to the Vulgate "venerunt" that I cannot help thinking that instead of ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας the author of Colb. read some participial form of ἔρχομαι or βαίνω. We should then have to suppose that the Vulgate translator had before him a Greek text that was conflate with these two readings, and that our present Greek has descended from one form

of the tradition only. It seems to me that this is quite probable. Cf., however, 5:64(67).

Chap. 5 contains several examples of proper names found in both Colb. and Vulg., but wanting in the Greek. On internal evidence it is difficult to suppose that these have been introduced into one version from the other; so that we are shut up to the conclusion that they really appeared in some Greek codices of the period from which the Latin versions date.

In 5:16 Colb. has "filii Erdaenabae, DCXXXII" and Vulg., "filii Jedarbone, centum triginta duo," which finds no equivalent in the Greek. The two forms of the name are really remarkably close, the Vulgate having merely transposed the order of the consonants as found in the Colb. The name seems to be a compound of יֶרֶד and נְבוֹ.

At the end of 5:20 Colb. has "qui de Aebeae CXXVII" and Vulg., "qui ex Bastaro centum viginti duo," which also has no equivalent in the Greek.

Again in 5:26 Colb, has an "Eredian" and Vulg. a "Serebias" not found in the Greek.

Between 5:26 and 5:27 of the Greek there is an entire verse in the Latin. Colb. has "filii et filiae et mulieres; omnis numerus DCCXLII"; and Vulg. "filii et filiae et uxores; omnis computatio quadraginta millia ducenti quadraginta duo." These agree closely in meaning; while Colb. "mulieres . . . . numerus," corresponding to Vulg. "uxores . . . . computatio," argues against the suspicion of corruption of one version from the other. The chief objection lies in the fact that this verse seems to contain data repeated in 5:1 and 5:41; but even if the possibility be granted that this verse may be made up from the last-mentioned passages, it does not follow that the Latin translators were guilty of this act; but rather, on the contrary, that they simply followed what was already in the Greek which they had.

In 5:34 Colb. has "filii Ami, filii Saphiu"; and Vulg., "filii Amae, filii Sasus," which is not in the Greek.

The Vulgate again agrees with Colb. against the Greek in 5:53(55). The Greek reads καὶ ἔδωκαν . . . . χάρρα . . . . εἰς τὸ παράγειν . . . . ξύλα κέδρινα καὶ διαφέρειν σχεδίας εἰς τὸν Ἰόππης λιμένα.

But instead of the last clause Colb. has "et facerent rates in portu Joppen" and Vulg. "et facerent rates in Joppe portu." It is highly improbable that the Latin could have come from the above form of the Greek. It is easier to suppose a Greek text which read καὶ ποιῆσαι σχεδίας ἐν τῷ Ἰόππης λιμένι.

Of some slight value is the variation in 5:54(56), where in place of a singular παραγενόμενος the Latin has a plural. The Colb. reads "venerunt" and the Vulgate "venientes," as if from παραγενόμενοι, and this is further supported by בֹּאָם of the Hebrew.

The two following examples have the support of Gk L. The first occurs in 5:57(59) in the phrase μετὰ μυσικῶν καὶ σαλπίγγων. Colb., Vulg., and Gk L alike omit μυσικῶν καὶ. The second occurs in 6:20(21), in the line νῦν οὖν εἰ κρίνεται, βασιλεῦ, ἐπισκεπήτω. Here Gk L has preserved the reading εἰ κρίνεις . . . . ἐπισκεφθήτω, translated by Colb., "nunc ergo, si judicas, rex, requiratur" and by Vulg., "nunc ergo, si judicatur a te, o rex, perquiratur."

Finally, at the very end of the I Esdras fragment there appears in the Latin a verse not found in the Greek. It is universally recognized that 9:55 breaks off abruptly with the words καὶ ἐπισυνήχθησαν, and what Greek words followed is at best a mere matter of conjecture. Greek L sought to correct the difficulty, or at least to improve the situation, by borrowing from the Greek of Neh. 8:13. Something like this appears to have been the situation in the Greek original of Colb. and Vulg. The Colb. adds "omnes in Hierusalem jocundari secundum dispositionem Domini Dei Israel," and the Vulg. has "universi in Jerusalem celebrare laetitiam secundum testamentum Domini Dei Israel." It is perfectly clear that the above is not a translation of Gk L; yet that these Latin versions do represent a real translation or translations from some Greek text is, in my judgment, beyond dispute. Whether or not the Vulgate is here an independent translation, or merely a more elegant phrasing of the Old Latin, may not be certain. Judging from a comparison of the two versions as a whole, I should say that interdependence is not very probable, and the differences in vocabulary and idiom in this particular passage rather bear out this presupposition. On the other hand, it is easier to allow the possibility of such borrowing

*at the end of a book;* and especially where, as here, something had manifestly been lost from the Greek.

It may be urged in objection that it is extremely improbable that readings in existence so late as it is assumed certain of these must have been would have been so completely lost.    I can only point to the evidence, and let it speak for itself.    The corrupt and fragmentary condition of many Greek codices suggests a possible explanation. It is not urged that the Latin is superior at these points of divergence, but only that it may be so at certain of them.    Some further light on this subject may perhaps be found in the Appendix, below, which aims to show how our present Greek, of the Egyptian type especially, has suffered permanent change through conflation.    It is quite certain that we do not possess in its purity the original Egyptian recension.

## APPENDIX

### EXAMPLES OF CONFLATION IN THE EGYPTIAN GREEK

The foregoing discussion has shown, I think, that the Latin versions are important aids to the textual criticism of the Greek of I Esdras. Our study of individual passages has indicated that the present Greek is by no means of irreproachable integrity.    A number of cases have been shown where the Greek seems to have suffered permanent alteration in transmission, and where sense and witness of the versions alike demand reconstruction.    So we may be prepared· to find that among other things incidental to the fortunes of textual transmission Gk A or Gk B have become slightly conflate from variant readings.    The instances of the kind are not numerous, it is true; but it will probably be agreed that the most of the following are most satisfactorily explained on the assumption of accidental conflation.

A simple and fairly certain example occurs in 8:85(89), where all Greek codices agree in reading ἕως τοῦ μὴ καταλιπεῖν ῥίζαν καὶ σπέρμα καὶ ὄνομα ἡμῶν.    The conflation lies in the two variants καὶ σπέρμα and καὶ ὄνομα.    For that these are merely variant translations is indicated not merely by the fact that the Hebrew has only the ambiguous פְּלֵיטָה, but also by the fact that Colb.—"et semen," without any equivalent for ὄνομα—evidently had only the former

of these two expressions, while the Vulgate had only the second of the two, as shown by its "nomen" without any rendering of σπέρμα. This explanation of the above phemomena is borne out by a comparison of another passage, 8:75(79), preceding this one by only a few verses, in which the phrase ῥίζαν καὶ ὄνομα appears, and which without a doubt gives the clue to the appearance of ὄνομα in the passage under discussion. The explanation is this: Originally the Greek read simply ῥίζαν καὶ σπέρμα ἡμῶν, as indicated by our oldest witness, the Old Latin; next, some copyist, with the previous ῥίζαν καὶ ὄνομα of 8:75(79) ringing in his ears, wrote ὄνομα instead of σπέρμα here, and this form is witnessed to by the Vulgate. Finally, this error was "corrected" by a later hand in the margin or in some equally easy and natural way crept into all the Greek manuscripts.

A similar, though somewhat less certain, instance occurs in 2:23 (27), where the present Greek reads βασιλεῖς ἰσχυροὶ καὶ σκληροί. Here Colb. has "reges duri" only, and the Vulgate "reges fortissimi" only. Again, the Aramaic has but one word, תַּקִּיפִין, while for textual evidence there is the slight support of cod. 71, which has σκληροί only, and of cod. 44, which has ἰσχυροί only. The tendency of these two codices to abridge discounts the weight of their testimony very considerably; yet it is not utterly to be ignored when it falls in line with other strong witnesses. In this case also the Greek of Ezra 4:20 has ἰσχυροί only.

If we have been correct in our estimate of the Mansi version, it would appear that the reading in 4:37—πάντα τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν, πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα—is conflate. For all three Latin versions omit the second number of the Greek phrase, which is probably merely a corrupt writing of the first member, πάντα τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν.

Again, the τότε which appears twice in 4:41 in the line καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς τότε ἐφώνησεν καὶ τότε εἶπεν seems to have been introduced into our present Greek texts from a single τότε which was in the Greek original of the Colbertinus MS (shown by its "tunc omnis populus," etc.; Aramaic אֱדַיִן or בֵּאדַיִן), inasmuch as it does not appear in either the Vulgate or the Mansi version.

Whether the presence in all extant Greek codices of the καὶ τοπάρχας in the lists of officers given in 4:47—οἰκονόμους καὶ το-πάρχας καὶ στρατηγοὺς καὶ σατράπας—is the result of comparison

with the Greek original of Colb. or some similar text, or comes from recollection of the lists in 3:2, 3:14, 4:49, Dan. 3:2, it is at least significant that all our present Greek texts have the fuller form; whereas the Vulgate and the Mansi versions agree in omitting the καὶ τοπάρχας.

In 4:3 there is almost conclusive evidence of conflation. The Greek reads (a) πᾶν ὁ ἐὰν εἴπῃ αὐτοῖς, ἐνακούουσιν· (b) ἐὰν εἴπῃ, ποιήτε πόλεμον ἕτερος πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον, ποιοῦσιν. The Greek is practically unanimous in the above reading, except that a few A codices have ποιοῦσιν in place of ἐνακούουσιν. The Colb. version, however, omits (a) entirely, having simply "si dixerit, facite bellum, invicem faciunt"; while the Vulgate and Mansi versions omit the second part (b), but render the first part (a) accurately. Were we to assume that the originals of Vulgate and Mansi read ποιοῦσιν instead of ἐνακούουσιν—as I have remarked that some A codices do— it might be possible to explain the omission in these versions as due to accidental causes through the similarity of the endings; the omission in Mansi might even be due to deliberate excision because of the redundancy of the two clauses, as we have seen; but how to explain the omission of (a) by Colb. on any such grounds it is rather difficult to see. It is easier to suppose that we have a real example of conflation in the Greek, and that the Latin has preserved the original readings. True, the Sangermanensis MS does have an "et obaudiunt ei omnibus," which might be taken to represent a corrupt rendering of (a); but even so, its testimony in such cases is very doubtful because of the fact that it has received recension by the aid of the Greek at what appears to have been a relatively late date; and further, the reading of Sang. is not close enough to the Greek to be at all decisive; the best that can be done is to assume a πάν[τες] ἐνακούουσιν as its prototype.

What appears to be a curious example of selective conflation occurs in 8:90(94, 95). The Greek reads καὶ νῦν ἐστιν ἐπάνω πᾶς [*] Ἰσραήλ· ἐν τούτῳ γενέσθω [οὖν] ὁρκωμοσία πρὸς τὸν Κύριον . . . . ὡς ἐκρίθη σοι καὶ ὅσοι πειθαρχοῦσι τῷ νόμῳ Κυρίου· ἀναστα[ς] ἐπιτέλει. That the text of the above is by no means certain is shown by the fact that in place of **[a] cod. 19 has ἐλπὶς ἐστι τῷ

'Ισραήλ and cods. 108, 121 have ἐλπὶς τῷ 'Ισραὴλ περὶ τούτου; while in place of the ἐν τούτῳ immediately following \*\*ᵃ, cods. 19, 121 have εἰπὲ καὶ (cod. 108 has εἰπέ, simply). After Κυρίου (d) 19, 108 also insert an ἀναστάντες εἶπον πρὸς Ἔσδραν, and this supports a reading of Colb., and so indicates that the above variants are doubtless authentic ones. Now the Latin versions read:

Vulg., "Et nunc es super omnem Israel. In his ergo sit jusjurandum
Colb., "Et nunc de (populo) Israel in hoc sit juratio

a Domino . . . . sicut tibi decretum est a majoribus
ad Dominum . . . .                              Et quotquot consenserunt
secundum legem Dominiᵈ

legi        Moysi, exsurgentes dixerunt Esdrae,
exsurgens, explica.
surge    et prefice.

First of all it is noticeable that neither the Vulg. nor Colb. version follows the present Greek *in toto*. The first part is translated accurately enough by the Vulgate, i.e., through ᵒᵒᵇ, but the second half appears to be a combination of the Greek originals of both Vulg. and Colb. Here again the conflation does not bear the marks of being deliberate, but is rather the result of a gradual accretion and unconscious growth. I have tried to make the comparison of the Latin versions largely self-explanatory.

These conclusions are supported by another passage, 9:34, equivalent to Ezra 10:34–42. Here the Greek follows the Hebrew quite closely, though as usual only L has exactly the Hebrew equivalent. The peculiarity of this passage lies in the fact that the Colb. translates only the first half of the Greek—the part represented by Ezra 10:34–39—while the Vulgate omits Ezra 10:38, 39 but has vss. 41, 42. Both Colb. and Vulg. omit vs. 40 of the Hebrew; but so does Gk AB, and it is only found in Gk L, except that possibly the last name of this verse שְׁרָי may be represented by the Vulg. "Oziras" and Gk AB Εζωρα. Again, vs. 42 of the Hebrew contains three names, reading in the order שַׁלּוּם אֲמַרְיָה יוֹסֵף; but Gk L, the only witness to have all three, has the order 'Ιωσηφ καὶ Σαλλουμ καὶ 'Αμαριας. Since Gk AB has only 'Ιωσηφος and Vulg. only "Josephus," there is

a strong suspicion that this was all that was originally in this place. Also, in vs. 40, above referred to, neither Gk AB nor the Vulgate has any equivalent for the Hebrew בִּכְנַדְבִּי—Gk L Ναδαβου—though a little later in the list Gk AB has a redundant ʼΑζαηλος (Vulg., "Dielus"). This latter is, however, most likely a doublet of an immediately preceding ʼΕζριλ (Hebr., עֲזַרְאֵל); for ʼΑζαηλος has no support except the above Vulgate reading, and the Vulgate fails to translate the ʼΕζριλ. All this simply goes to show how very insecure is the text at this point, and that even the Hebrew seems to have suffered from expansion.

Of some slight confirmation is the reading ἐν ʼΙσραὴλ καὶ ʼΙερου-σαλήμ of 1:33(35). Both Colb. and Vulg. read simply "super Israel," and this is supported by ἐν ʼΙσραὴλ of B, 55, 68, 119, 248 in their ἐν ʼΙσραὴλ καὶ ʼΙερουσαλήμ (most A codices have ἐν ʼΙούδα καὶ ʼΙερουσαλήμ). N, 108, and 245, however, have simply ἐν ʼΙερου-σαλήμ, and the Hebrew has only בִּירוּשָׁלֵ͏ם. Probably, therefore, the longer form is either the result of an easy expansion in the Greek, or else is a pure conflation from a poorly written or abbre-viated ʼΙερουσαλήμ. The significance of these alternatives is much the same.

# THE NEW HILPRECHT DELUGE TABLET

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In Vol. V, fasc. i of the "Babylonian Expedition, Series D," entitled *The Earliest Version of the Babylonian Deluge Story and the Temple Library of Nippur*, Philadelphia, 1910, Professor H. V. Hilprecht endeavors to show that the eleven legible but mutilated lines of a thirteen-line fragment, discovered by him among the Nippur Temple documents, is an epoch-making confirmation of the biblical Deluge narrative.

It will appear evident even to the lay observer that the confirmation of the biblical narrative, adduced by Hilprecht, depends largely on his own restoration of l. 12, which contains only two visible Babylonian words: k û m m i n i (see below for full discussion). He has ventured, in his not unnatural desire to accommodate this fragment to the Old Testament account, to insert there arbitrarily a whole phrase from the Old Testament, containing the allusion to pairs of living creatures which were introduced into the ark by Noah. We have no desire to question the general common origin of the Semitic Deluge story, although a question may readily be raised as to whether the primitive Semitic Deluge account may not have been the result of some particularly violent and destructive manifestation of the annual Babylonian spring flood, but we do question strenuously Hilprecht's statement that in this fragment we have a stronger confirmation of the details of the biblical narrative of the Flood than the well-known Babylonian Flood Account presents. This fragment we believe to be of value as a mutilated abbreviated variant or summary of the known Babylonian Deluge story, published by Paul Haupt, *Nimrodepos*, II, 134 ff., but only of value thus far.

The same elements appear here as in the *Nimrodepos* account, viz., the appearance of a flood and the injunction to some person

to build a sea-worthy refuge boat, in which he shall save animal and human life. Note that the passage *Nimrodepos*, II, 135, 27, covers ll. 11–12 of the Hilprecht fragment; in *Nimrodepos* (šu)lima zêr napšâti kalama ana libbi elippi, "cause to go up into the midst of the ship the seed of all life." Nothing is said here of pairs, or of how many of each species should be saved. It is quite natural that the details of the Babylonian and biblical accounts of the Deluge should vary considerably one from the other (see McCurdy, *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*, III, 37, n. 2, for a most rational statement on this subject). To force biblical details into a mutilated Babylonian account is distinctly not permissible, and in so doing Hilprecht has largely injured the interest and value of his discovery from a scientific point of view.

We have no wish to detract from the true worth of Professor Hilprecht's discovery, nor will we go so far as some American scholars have done, who have rather hastily asserted that this is not a Deluge fragment at all. It has all the appearance of being a supplement to, and in some details a variant from, the Deluge account in the *Nimrodepos* and, viewed in this light, it can be studied with profit. That it is very ancient, however, as Hilprecht claims, is, we believe, denied by the general style of the cuneiform characters in which it is written, which are quite late Babylonian. In the following commentary, a refutation is made of some of Hilprecht's arguments on this point.

Finally, we must regard as unsuccessful Hilprecht's effort to set forth this broken document before the intelligent lay public as a striking confirmation of the Old Testament. To follow him in this vain attempt would be to blind ourselves and the public to the facts and thus detract from, rather than add to, the traditional value of the biblical account of the Flood.

## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

1. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
2. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . a-pa-aš-šar
                                        I will loosen
3. . . . . . . . . . . . ka-la ni-ši iš-te-niš i-ça-bat
                              all people together it shall take possession of

4. . . . . . . . -ti la-am a-bu-bi wa(PI) çi-è
           before the flood comes forth
5. . . . a-ni ma-la i-ba-aš-šu-u lu-kin ub-bu-ku lu-pu-
           ut-tu xu-ru-šu
      as many as there are; verily I will establish an overturning, a ruin
      and an annihilation
6. (GIŠ) elippu (MÁ) ra-be-tu bi-ni-ma
           a large ship do thou build
7. . . . . ga-be-e qub-bi lu bi-nu-uz-za
      of the high (ship) do thou define its structure
8. . . . ši-i lu ɢɪš ᴍÁ-ɢᴜʀ-ɢᴜʀ ba-bil-lu na-aṭ-rat na-piš-
           tim
           verily it shall be a *má-gur*, bearing what shall have been saved
           of life
9. . . çu-lu-la dan-na çu-ul-lil
           with a strong deck, deck it over
10. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . te-ip-pu-šu
                                   which thou hast made
11. . . . . . . . . u-ma-am çi-rim iç-çur ša-me-e
                             beasts of the field (and) birds of the heaven
12. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . ku-um mi-ni
                        the habitation of a number (multitude)
13. . . . . . . . . . . u ki(n)-ta-?

<div align="center">COMMENTARY</div>

2. Pašâru, synonym of paṭâru 'loosen, set free,' is most commonly
applied to loosening the restraint of a curse, but it may be used here of
the opening of the flood-gates. Professor Hilprecht's restoration
uçurât šamê u irçitim or kippât šame u irçitim is of course
guess-work, although this line, no doubt, indicated the preliminary act
on the part of the gods in letting out the flood-waters.

3. I-ça-bat, not necessarily išabat, Hilprecht, p. 50. Çabâtu
'seize, take possession of' answers the purpose of the sense admirably.
The subject of this verb must have been abûbu 'flood.' Hilprecht's
restoration of the words: abûba ašakanma 'I will make a flood' is
probably correct.

4. The -ti in this line may be, as Hilprecht suggests, the last syl-
lable of the phrase: bulliṭ napišti 'seek life'; i.e., before the onset
of the deluge.

The occurrence of PI with value wa has been cited by Hilprecht as
conclusive evidence of an early date for this inscription, but this value
wa = PI certainly persisted as late as the Ašurbânipal period, 668–626 B.C.,
as we find PI with value *a* (wa) in an Ašurbânipal syllabary; II. 39,

No. 2., 14 ab: ba-ab-bar = UTU = PI = a(=wa)-çu-u; this very word meaning 'go forth.' Of course, Hilprecht may claim that PI = a, wa in this syllabary was an archaism at the time of Ašurbânipal, but the same claim could also be made for this line in his Deluge fragment, whose cuneiform Babylonian characters certainly do not point to a very early date. Surely no argument for a distant date can be made from the very usual use of PI with the value wa. See also below in this connection s.v. binuzza, l. 7.

5. Hilprecht thinks -a-ni points back to a-la-a-ni 'cities.' Since this line clearly refers to a very general annihilation (mala ibaššû), this seems a reasonable supposition. Ub-bu-ku, lu-pu-ut-tu, xu-ru-šu are all Pa'el infinitives of abâku, lapâtu, and xarâšu respectively. Hilprecht wrongly regards luputtu as a feminine, from luput+tu. Why so, in the face of the clearly Pa'el character of the other two verbs? Luputtu is simply an inexact writing for lupputu.

6. This line probably had nothing before the word (GIŠ) elippu (MÁ). It contains the divine command to the person who was to be saved to construct his vessel of refuge, the character of which is more clearly defined in l. 8, q.v.

7. Possibly the word ša preceded ga-be-e here; viz., ša gabê qubbi lu binuzza 'of the high thing (ship) do thou pronounce or define its structure,' a parallel line to the directions regarding the exact nature of the MÁ-GUR in the Babylonian Deluge Account in NE. II.

Professor Prince reads qub-bi for gab-bi, as the sign seems to be KAB and not GAB. But KAB can have the value gub (cf. Prince, MSL. 158) and gub-bi = qub-bi, possibly a hitherto unestablished Pa'el imperative from qibû 'speak, command.' To read gab-bi, as Hilprecht does, leaves this line without a verb and, in parallelism with l. 6, binima, we certainly expect an imperative here also. The most natural sequence is the command to the sailor to 'tell, define, order,' or 'command' (qibû) the exact structure of the boat. The passage is very doubtful. Dr. Vanderburgh raises the question as to whether KAB-BI may be read qup-pi, pl. of quppu 'cage, box'; 'room.' He renders: 'of the high (ship) let its structure (be in) rooms,' which he regards as a parallel to the biblical קִנִּים, referring to the rooms of the ark. Professor Prince doubts this, because of the difficulty of assuming a p-value in KAB-BI.

Hilprecht lays stress on the writing bi-nu-uz-za = binussa = binût +ša, but za for sa is no more an indication of an ancient period than is PI = wa (see above sub l. 4). Professor Clay has already pointed out this fact (Philadelphia Evening Bulletin, April 16, 1910) with perfect clearness.

8. The boat is to be a (GIŠ) MÁ-GUR-GUR, which is the Sumerian prototype of Assyrian makurru (Meissner, Suppl. 57) 'a kind of a vessel'; written also GIŠ MÁ-XUR (XUR also = GUR Br. 8514) = ma-kur(ru?),

which word is followed in the list by GIŠ MÁ-TUR = ma-tur-ru (also = GIŠ ma-tu), II, 54, 26: = ma-kur-ri (Muss-Arnolt, *Dict.* 540). Of these synonymously used combinations, má-gur probably means 'a ship which is easily manipulated'; GUR = târu 'turn, move, direct.' The reduplication of GUR in this MÁ-GUR-GUR must indicate this quality of easy management, so MÁ-GUR-GUR means simply a navigable vessel, a ship which can be steered without difficulty. GIŠ MÁ-XUR, since XUR has also the value GUR, both *x* and *g* having been pronounced gutturally, is identical in meaning with GIŠ MÁ-GUR. GIŠ MÁ-TUR = GIŠ-MÁ-TU (TU = TUR) which is possibly an abbreviation of GIŠ A-MÁ-TU 'the structure (GIŠ) for the flood'; that is to say, a vessel constructed for deep-water use. This harmonizes with the probable meaning of MÁ-GUR 'an easily navigable vessel.' There can be no direct allusion in any of these words to the injunction to cover the vessel with a deck (Hilprecht, 54) made in l. 9, except in so far as all deep-water craft are naturally decked over to resist the high waves. There can be no doubt that the ship mentioned in this inscription was to be an elippu ra-be-tu (l. 6), a large vessel capable of holding a number of people; it was to have a sea-deck (l. 9) and it was to be a deep water ship, easily handled (l. 8).

9. Çulula danna çullil 'deck it over with a strong deck.' Hilprecht may be right in assigning the meaning "roof" (p. 56) to the biblical צֹהַר of Gen. 6:16, but this suggestion was made in Francis Brown's *Hebrew Lexicon* (*s.v.* צֹהַר) long before Hilprecht discovered this fragment. If צֹהַר means 'roof' and not 'window,' the regular Hebrew word for which is חַלּוֹן, צֹהַר is probably to be regarded as a corrupt cognate of Assyrian çulultu 'roof.'

The mimation in napištim has no bearing on the possible date of this inscription, as the word is almost always mimated in the genitive.

10. Hilprecht is probably correct in regarding teppušu as a relative form with the overhanging vowel, referring to the word GIŠ elippu (MÁ) in the mutilated section. Cf. Haupt, *Nimrodepos*, ii. 134, 28: "the ship which thou shalt build."

11. The allusion here is apparently to the command to bring beasts and birds into the MÁ-GUR for their preservation during the Deluge; cf. Haupt, *op. cit.*, II, 134, 27: "bring living creatures of all kinds into the ship."

12. In this line, Hilprecht has certainly permitted his desire to establish a perfect parallelism between this inscription and the biblical narrative to obscure his better judgment. With no possible justification, he restores the words: "and the creeping things two of everything," and then renders ku-um mi-ni by the extraordinary expression 'instead of a number,' i.e., an indefinite number. But an indefinite number of creatures to be saved is just what the Babylonian parallel account calls for. There is nothing in this nor in any other Babylonian deluge-text to

justify Hilprecht's supposition as to this line.    Furthermore, the words
kûm mini probably do not mean 'instead of a number,' but rather
'habitation of a number' (kûm, construct of kûmu 'dwelling, habita-
tion').    The sense of this mutilated line must have been that the
MÁ-GUR should become the habitation of a great number or multitude of
creatures, but with no allusion to pairs, or to a specific number.

Professor Hilprecht's attempt to translate the Hebrew word מִין by
number, connecting it etymologically with מָנָה 'to count' is most
hazardous.    The Hebrew מִין 'kind, sort, species' must be a derivative
of a hollow stem מִין, מִין, cognate with Arabic مان 'split,' i.e., the
earth, as in ploughing.    The use of מִין in the Old Testament for 'kind,
species' with no possible allusion to number, the similar use of the cog-
nate Syriac ܡܝܢܐ for 'nation' and of מִין again in later Hebrew for
'schismatic, heretic,' i.e., 'one split off from communion,' certainly do
not point to an origin for מִין which connoted the idea of counting.

13.    This line is so mutilated that we have no right to read with
Hilprecht kin-ta=kim-ta 'family,' although this word may have
occurred here.

# Book Notices

## THE CULT OF THE MOON-GOD, SIN[1]

The god Sin plays an important rôle in the religion of Babylonia and Assyria. He is referred to in historical, religious, and juridical texts with great frequency, and evident familiarity on the part of the writers. His relations with the cities of Abraham's early sojourns make the theme especially attractive to students of the Old Testament.

M. Combe states in his brief Preface some of the principles on which he makes this investigation. He does not intend to present an exposition of the astronomical doctrines of Babylonia concerning the moon. And he is convinced that the theory of eclipses, those of the phases of the moon and of its relation to the other planets, have not modified the doctrine of the moon-cult in Babylonia. Regarding the theory that the gods of Babylonia are personifications of planets, he says, "This association is the fruit of speculation, and a careful study of the names of the gods would suffice to prove that it is not primitive." Such claims on the part of certain Assyriologists led him to make a careful study of the names of the god Sin. He has almost limited himself, however, to a study of the cult in its relations to political history, in order to determine the phases of its development. In other words, this plan would largely guarantee to him a study of the facts in their chronological order. Hymns and prayers addressed to Sin are translated; and the work concludes with a list of theophorous proper names in whose composition we find the name Sin.

The material of the book is treated in two parts. Part I embraces eight chapters which discuss: (1) the names of the moon-god; (2) his genealogy and mythology; (3) the theological conception of the moon-god according to his names, his epithets, and his hymns; (4) the pictured monuments; (5) the cult; (6) the temples; (7) the influence of the cult of Sin upon the Elamite, Arabic, and Syrian cults; and (8) the conclusion. Part II (9) presents the texts in transliteration and translation, with a few notes; (10) a list of names compounded with the name Sin; and an appendix on Sin and Sinai, and an index.

The first encounter, under Sumerian names of Sin, with scholars is on the explanation of the usual ideogram EN-ZU. Combe maintains that "Sin" is a Chaldean name which was borrowed by the Semites, though,

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[1] HISTOIRE DU CULTE DE SIN EN BABYLONIE ET EN ASSYRIE. Par Et. Combe, Docteur de l'Université de Paris. Paris: Geuthner, 1908. xvii+159 pages.

like Gudea (Stat. B. VIII, 48), he cannot interpret either it or its recognized ideogram, EN-ZU. He sees in EN-ZU-NA evidence that the NA is merely the phonetic complement of *Sin*, though there is thus far no proof that such is the case. The attempt to find "Sin" in the ideogram EN-ZU, reversed to ZU-IN, is plausible, but not textually proved unless we grant that EN-NA-ZU-IN in a Cappadocian text published by Sayce ("Cun. Tablets from Cappad.," in *Babyloniaca*, II, 1, p. 5) can be legitimately read ENNA-SIN, "Sin is lord." This reading is doubtful, and the Pinches text (in *JRAS*, 1905, p. 147) is too broken to add a single shred of evidence. While there is a possibility that we may yet find ZU-EN as a reading for Sin, thus far such an explanation is merely hypothetical.

Under the Semitic names of Sin, Nannar receives most attention. Jastrow's derivation (*Relig. Babyl. and Assyr.*, p. 75), wherein he derives it from *nar-nar*, as BABBAR from BARBAR, is rejected. Combe proposes a derivation from the root *namâru*, "be bright," "shine," by an *m* formation, thus: *manmaru*, then *nanmaru*, and finally by assimilation *nannaru*. He makes *nannaru*, as does Haupt (*BA*, I, 7) *nanniru*, equivalent to the Hebrew מָאֹור, Sept., Φωστήρ; but Haupt finds his form in an original *nanmiru*, thus becoming by progressive assimilation, *nanniru*. Combe cites no case where an initial *m* becomes *n* to prove the plausibility of his theory.

The god Sin has no history (p. 19), we have nothing about his birth or life, though there is a considerable amount of mythology about the moon — probably of late origin. Some of the interesting properties and abilities of the moon-god are widespread in early literature. He was invoked as a healer of disease, and as causing certain diseases. As an echo of this latter power, see Ps. 121:6, 7: "The sun shall not smite thee by day, nor the moon by night. Jahweh will keep thee from all evil; he will keep thy soul."

The proper character of the moon-god is not manifested by violence nor by murderous force. His traits are agreeable and benevolent. Sin is a powerful lord, but not dangerous; he is a judge whose orders cannot be disregarded; but he is also a father whose nature is good. The god Sin, before everything else, is a friend and a protector; he pardons and he is helpful; he directs men by marching in their van; he is their support, and they can put their confidence in him. Sin recompenses, he spares, he favors, he sustains, he saves, he counsels, he gives, and he is a liberator. He is a shepherd, he maintains in good health, and he favorably hears supplications (p. 38). These are some of the main ideas connected with the theophorous names composed with Sin which we find in Babylonian and Assyrian.

The moon-god is first mentioned in the inscriptions of the *patesis* of Lagash (p. 46), provided we grant that they preceded in time the kings

of Ur and "the kings of Sumer and Akkad." And his chief seats were at Ur and Ḫarran.

In the Hammurabi period Sin was named after Bel, but before Ninib, Ištar, Šamaš, and Adad. From the time of Hammurabi the cult of the sun had the pre-eminence, though Sin was found frequently in the proper names of the period.

Combe (pp. 69 f.) finds the *ziggurat* referred to merely in the name E-ḪAR-SAG which Dungi calls his beloved temple, and finds a confirmation of his theory in a chronological notice of the time of Dungi, which reads "the year in which had been constructed the E-ḪAR-SAG-LUGAL."

The traces of a Sin temple in Susa (p. 82) are well established and significant.

There is no trace of the cult of Sin in the Old Testament, not even in the name Sinai, as held by some archaeologists. The mere observance of feasts of the new moon probably has no reference to a cult. The pan-Babylonianism of Jeremias and Winckler are quietly brushed aside and discredited wherever the astral question comes to the front.

The dozen short texts transliterated and translated have all been published before except one (No. 6) small, badly mutilated Assyrian text of 21 lines. Six of them are in Assyrian, one and one-half are bilingual, and four and one-half Sumerian. The notes are replete with explanations of the various epithets and names of the moon-god which appear in these texts.

M. Combe has done a creditable piece of work, but it can scarcely be called a "history of the cult of Sin," for this he does not give. It is rather a survey of the prevalence of the cult of Sin in ancient oriental life.

Ira Maurice Price

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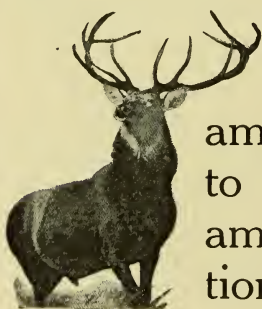
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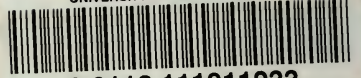
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